

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1361968-0

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SSP

CLASS

SRC'D

SER

REC

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 5-31-84)

Date

1-9-89

To: ☒ Director

Att.: SSA

- ☐ SAC
☐ ASAC
☐ Supv.
☐ Agent
☐ OSM
☐ Rotor #
☐ Steno
☐ Typist
☐ M
Room

FILE #

NY 161A-10004

b6
b7C

Title

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER

SPIN "A"

BUDED PAST

OO: BUREAU

RE:

FD 302 FAX TO HQ 1-5-89

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Acknowledge | <input type="checkbox"/> For Information | <input type="checkbox"/> Return assignment card |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assign <input type="checkbox"/> Reassign | <input type="checkbox"/> Handle | <input type="checkbox"/> Return file <input type="checkbox"/> serial |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bring file | <input type="checkbox"/> Initial & return | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Call me | <input type="checkbox"/> Leads need attention | <input type="checkbox"/> Return with action taken |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Correct | <input type="checkbox"/> Open case | <input type="checkbox"/> Return with explanation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Deadline | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare lead cards | <input type="checkbox"/> Search and return |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Delinquent | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare tickler | <input type="checkbox"/> See me |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Discontinue | <input type="checkbox"/> Recharge file <input type="checkbox"/> serial | <input type="checkbox"/> Type |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Expedite | | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File | <input type="checkbox"/> Send to | |

ATTACHED PLEASE FIND ORIGINAL

FD 302 RE INTERVIEW OF

[Redacted]

FAX SENT TO

b6
b7C

YOUR ATTENTION 1-5-89. PLEASE

INCLUDE IN YOUR FILE 61-70103-23X

ENCLOSURE

7 APR 26 1989

SAC

[Redacted]

Office

NY

See reverse side

Just as per.

file
4/26/89



161-3043-23X
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription January 5, 1989

On January 5, 1989 [redacted] was contacted at his place of business. [redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing agents as well as the purpose of the interview. [redacted] supplied the following information:

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[redacted] stated that he was [redacted] on [redacted] recommended MELVIN PAISLEY to be [redacted] Assistant Secretary of the Navy. LEHMAN stated that he was not personally aware of any derogatory information concerning PAISLEY. [redacted] went on to state that if he were aware of anything derogatory about PAISLEY he [redacted] would not have recommended him for the position. Additionally [redacted] stated that neither he nor [redacted] advised JOHN TOWER [redacted] of any derogatory information regarding PAISLEY. [redacted] went on to state that he [redacted] never approached TOWER [redacted] requesting that they not advise members of the committee of any derogatory information about PAISLEY in the background report. [redacted] stated that he was sure that [redacted] also never contacted TOWER or [redacted] with such a request.

In conclusion [redacted] stated that it was his opinion that PAISLEY was a fine person at the time of his appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy and that [redacted] knew no derogatory information regarding PAISLEY and knew of no one who had any such information. Also [redacted] stated that he did not request TOWER [redacted] to withhold any information uncovered in the background investigation on PAISLEY from the committee and knew of no one who did. Additionally [redacted] stated that he believed that TOWER did not know PAISLEY prior to his appointment in 1981 and that TOWER would have no reason to withhold any derogatory information from the committee.

Investigation on January 5, 1989 at New York, New York File # 161A-10004

by SA [redacted] SA [redacted] Date dictated January 5, 1989

SSE

Transmit attached by Facsimile

CLASS

SRC'D

SER

REC

To: *FBI BA, CI, DL, HD, KC, LA,
NH, PG, RH, SA, SL*

From:

F.B.I.H.Q.

Subject: *JOHN GOODWIN TOWER
SPIN (A)*

PRECEDENCE:

- ☒ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- ☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☒ UNCLAS

Date *12-2-88*☐ Fingerprint Photo☐ Fingerprint Record☐ Map☐ Newspaper clipping☐ Photograph☐ Artists Conception☐ Teletype☒ Other*AIRTEL v SF 86*

Special handling Instructions:

*HAND CARRY TO 161 SQUAD***ENCLOSURE**

SENT BY FACSIMILE

TO: *ALL OF ABOVE*ON: *12-2-88*BY: *B.L.H./pm*Approved: *pm/blj*

MAR 1 1989

FBI/DOJ

Spec

25304

From: Director FBI (161-20403) Date: December 2, 1988

TO SACs Washington Metropolitan Field (161-19411) (SF-86 and release form enclosed)
Baltimore (SF-86 and release form enclosed)
Cincinnati (~~SF-86 and release form enclosed~~) (no enclosure)
Dallas (161-2025) (SF-86 and release form enclosed)
Houston (SF-86 and release form enclosed)
Kansas City (~~SF-86 and release form enclosed~~) (no enclosure)
Los Angeles (161-5983) (SF-86 and release form enclosed)
New Haven (~~SF-86 and release form enclosed~~) (no enclosure)
Pittsburgh (161-2073) (SF-86 and release form enclosed) b6
Richmond (SF-86 and release form enclosed) b7C
San Antonio (SF-86 and release form enclosed)
Saint Louis (SF-86 and release form enclosed)

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER, SPIN (A);
BUDED: 12/9/88 (without fail).

Bureau has been requested to conduct expedite investigation of Tower for an unspecified Presidential appointment, which requires Senate confirmation.

Because of potential controversy, and the prominence of the position for which he is being considered, we are disregarding the BI previously conducted by the Department of State in 1985. We are conducting an all encompassing full field investigation. We will not reinvestigate those areas fully explored during the 1987 FBI investigation, which covered the period 2/85 - 9/87.

Appointee is described as born on 9/29/25, in Houston, Texas, and has SSAN 451-46-9866; and resides at 3525 Turtle Creek Blvd, #21-B, Dallas, Texas, 75219 and at the Jefferson Hotel in Washington, D. C.

Appointee will be required to make decisions concerning policy and personnel matters; therefore, during interviews, determine if appointee has expressed or manifested any bias or prejudice against any individual or group based upon sex, race, color, religion, national origin, handicap or age. Determine if appointee lives within his financial means. Also determine if appointee uses illegal drugs or abuses alcohol. All offices should be cognizant of allegations appearing in public source documents of Senator Towers alleged sexual indiscretions, excessive alcohol consumption, potential conflicts of interest, and questionable spending of campaign contributions or knowledge of illegal contributions.

2- ENCLOSURE

SENT BY FACSIMILE
TO: ALL FIELD OFFICE LISTED
ON: 12-2-1988
BY: [signature]

WMFO
copy sent BSM
12/2 pm

161-20403-24
ENCLOSURE

Airtel to Washington Metropolitan Field, BA, CI, DL, HO, KC, LA, NH, PG, RH, SA AND SL.

RE: John Goodwin Tower

Investigation should receive immediate attention and receiving offices should telephonically advise FBIHQ of any derogatory information as developed, confirm by teletype, and record pertinent interviews relating to derogatory information on FD-302s.

Receiving offices note that all periods of appointee's life including periods of unemployment, must be accounted for and if during the course of investigation unexplained or unaccounted for gaps are identified, then leads should be directed to the field office covering appointee's current employment to have appointee contacted and to have his activities during specific periods identified.

As this is a Presidential appointment, field offices are expected to meet deadline (WITHOUT FAIL).

LEADS:

Dallas, WMFO, Houston and San Antonio are also instructed to contact the United States Attorney's Offices wherever appointee has lived or worked as an adult to determine if any indication appointee has been involved in a matter handled by the USA's office (either criminal or civil, in closed or current files).

Dallas and WMFO, as principal offices, each insure at least 20 persons knowledgeable concerning appointee are interviewed.

Baltimore at Ft. Meade, Md: Check DCII and at the direct request of the President-elect's Transition Office, check the records of the NSA for any information of a derogatory nature concerning Tower and in particular during the period of time 3/85 - 4/86 indicating any involvement with foreign nationals.

Cincinnati at Cincinnati: Check DISCO

Dallas: Check major newspaper morgues regarding appointee. Verify Tower's first divorce, to include plaintiff, defendant, grounds, and review for any notoriety. Resolve allegations set forth in the Legal Times article dated 2/1/88, which has been sent via facsimile. Will immediately interview appointee in accordance with MIOG, Part II, Section 17-5.6 and will report results on an FD-302. At an absolute minimum, the FD-302 should clearly set forth appointee's response to those questions labeled a-m under Section 17-5.6 cited above. In addition, Mr. Tower should also be asked if he is aware of any illegal

Airtel to Washington Metropolitan Field, BA, CI, DL, HO, KC, LA, NH, PG, RH, SA AND SL.

RE: John Goodwin Tower

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b7C

questionable contributions which may have been made to any of his campaigns. Reference Dallas report 9/8/87 page 9, establish identity and native of relationship to appointee of [redacted] (interview of [redacted] Also determine the nature and extent of his relationship (past or present) with any state or federal bank. Immediately provide a copy of Mr. Tower's interview, via facsimile, to FBIHQ and WMFO.

Kansas City: Check the records of the NCAA to determine if Senator Tower was involved in the SMU players "pay for play" scandal in the 1980's.

New Haven: Reference New Haven airtel dated 9/23/87 contained information is ISIS references could not be received and were protected by Rule 6(E). New Haven should ascertain if those references can now be reviewed, and if so, to review and provide copies of documents to FBIHQ via airtel.

Pittsburgh at Bovers Center. PA: Check OPM. Interview

[redacted] who was previously unavailable for interview.

San Antonio: Check State Attorney General's office and State Board of Elections for any information concerning Senator Tower, and State Department of Insurance.

Saint Louis: Check FRC-M

WMFO: Check WH, USSS, PIS and criminal/DOJ, Department of State, ACDA, FEC, SEC, FCC, Federal Reserve Board, Department of Education, IG and SPIN at DOD, the Defense Contract Audit Agency, and the House of Representatives Office of the Clerk, Records and Registration to determine if Tower is registered as a lobbyist. Review divorce record concerning Tower's divorce from Lilla C. Tower for any information concerning Mr. Tower's alleged sexual indiscretions. Interview Lilla C. Towers. She should specifically be queried concerning her knowledge of Senator Towers distribution of \$466,000 in campaign contributions. WMFO will also be provided with a copy of an article appearing in the 12/2/88 Washington Post (p. 21) regarding Towers distribution of \$466,000 in campaign funds. WMFO should contact the FEC to review that article for an FEC opinion as to if the allegations are true, did any violation of FEC rules/regulations occur. Also obtain copy of OSI investigation conducted regarding [redacted] and obtain a copy of the 1985 DOS background investigation concerning Senator Tower. Conducted in 1985. Also interview [redacted]

Airtel to Washington Metropolitan Field, BA, CI, DL, HO, KC, LA,
NH, PG, RH, SA AND SL.

RE: John Goodwin Tower

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b7C

[redacted] regarding his prior
interview (WMFO report 9/11/87) "he handles alcohol where most
people would fall on their face" to determine if appointee has an
alcohol problem.

All offices: Submit results of completed investigation
to reach FBIHQ no later than COB BUD; use express mail or overnight
delivery service if necessary.

Direct results attention: [redacted] SPIN Unit, Room
4371.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records/Operations Sections

FR UTD

12-5

19 88

- ☒ Name Searching Unit, 4989, TL# 121
☐ Service Unit, 4654, TL# 225
☐ Special File Room, 5991, TL# 122
☒ Forward to File Review, 5447, TL# 143
☒ Attention
☒ Return to

b6
b7C

Supervisor, Room, TL# , Ext.

Scope of Search: (Check One)

- ☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 20
☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 30
☒ Unrestricted (ADB & Inactive Index)

Type of Search Requested:

- ☒ All References (Security & Criminal)
☐ Security Search
☐ Criminal Search
☐ Main

DEC 05 '88

References Onl

Special Instructions:

- ☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☒ Variations
☐ Restricted to Locality of

Subject TOWER, JOHN GOODWINAKA(s) Birthdate & Place SSAN Localities R# 321 Date 12-4 Searcher Initials 404Prod.

File Number Serial

Ident

ADB

Inactive

Date of
Ref M/Y

I	161-20403-I	YCH 12-11			
NPI	157-2-53-736				
I	105-779897-2	ENCIP 26			
NPI	144-330-265-272	BS			
	John				
NPI	47-56732				
NPI	44-0-65004				
	102-5-51005X186	I PCU 11/2			
NPI	105-45357-A	1 WASH. Capital News			
	Service 5/22/61				
NPI	62-107024-45				
NPI	100-434516-A	New York 10/1/62			
NPI	2-1707-15				
NPI	105-88521-66				
NPI	102-12158-6432				
NPI	2-1711-438				

Numerous Reference Search Slip

FR UTD

Subject

Tower John Goodwin

R#

321

Date

12-5

Searcher Initials

404

Prod.

Cont

File Number

Serial

Ident

ADB

Inactive

Date of

Ref M/Y

John G

NP 105-110254-163

NP 105-82555-370

NP 105-82555-1519 ENCIP 16

NP 62-109090-236 ENCIP 769, 770

NP 62-109090-236 ENCIP VOLP 130, 188, 192, 209, VOLX P 106

NP 157-2915-11

NP 62-35876-113

NP 62-105007-12 ENCIP 2

NP 62-107261-2110

NP 62-106998

NP 62-109683-121

NP 62-390629-A Wash Capital News Service 11/7/67

NP 105-13315-9206

NP 100-344452-333

NP 109-12-223-2580 NS 556

NP 105-10828-1551

NP 105-172069-143

NP 77-114539-17

NP 104-12-223-4495

NP 7-1482

NP 64-0-1036-15 556 11/14/67

Numerous Reference Search Slip

FR UTD

Subject

JONES, John Goodwin

R# 321 Date 10-9 Searcher Initials 404

Prod.

17

File Number

Serial

Ident

ADB

Inactive

Date of
Ref M/Y

(Cont)

John

NR	100-433447				
NR	62-109060-2315				ENCIP 8/88
NR	157-2915-11				
NR	62-35876-112				
NR	105-18814-3508				SER 1/5
NR	105-18814-3508				SER 1/5
NR	109-12-223-2694				
NR	157-6-64-1782				
NR	109-12-223-2588				
NR	-2613				
NR	105-40829-107				
NR	105-16771-38				
NR	105-223936-7				
NR	36-4843-5				
NR	58-9240-913				ENCIP 1857
	Washington Post				2/7/78
NR	190-18437-19				
NR	1152-3896				
	175-601-601 RM 8648				
NR	196-1205-16X1				ALL
NR	211-79-138-ENCIP				85 SER
NR	190-43663-4				
NR	200-41442-1				
NR	200-41442-3				
NR	105-243248-36015				
	175-601-989-ENCIP				866 RM 5648
NR	58-11887-396-ENCIP				13 SER

Numerous Reference Search Slip

FR UTD _____

Subject Traver John BradwinR# 321 Date _____ Searcher Initials _____

Prod. _____

(CONT)

File Number

Serial

Ident

ADB

Inactive

Date of
Ref M/Y

NP-211-26-314-ENCIP 5 John
Travers 7 (AICA) 11/25
SI
Travers John (VAL)
NP-65-73121-224 ENCIP 49

DEC 01 1987

Numerous Reference Search Slip

FR UTD

Subject

Tower John Goodwin

R#

321

Date

1/2/88

Searcher Initials

404

Prod.

John

File-Number	Serial	Ident	ADB	Inactive	Date of Ref M/Y
John B					
NP 92-15420-4					
NP 94-1-24525-5					
NP 58-9240-A Wash. Post					
NP 94-81-50337					
NP 58-9240-913 ENC 1/4					
L -635 P104					
L -1097					
NP 26-98135-1032					
175-601-472 Am 5648					
-424					
-432					
211-26-314-ENC 1/2					
314-ENC 1/3					
John					
NP 9-58392					
NP 110-8410					
NP 9-59360					
NP 44-0-48194					
NP 63-0-44581					
NP 89-2483					
NP 87-150899					
NP 89-5522					
NP 194-0-1392					
NP 100-414706-16					
NP 100-436000-1					
NP 100-436567-2					
NP 100-372598-A Wash. News					
Service					
4-5-62-11-62					

Numerous Reference Search Slip

FR UTD _____

Subject Sources John GordonR# 321Date 12-5Searcher Initials 444

Prod. _____

File Number	Serial	Ident	ADB	Inactive	Date of Ref M/Y
<u>Cont</u>					
<u>John 6</u>					
NP	<u>9-41773 I</u>				
NP	<u>95-159345</u>				
NP	<u>25-520132-66</u>				
NH	<u>29-28784-3716</u>				<u>P#12</u>
NP	<u>44-19653-9</u>				
NP	<u>44-19681-4</u>				
NP	<u>44-24016-953</u>				
NP	<u>45-0-405</u>				
NP	<u>45-11003-5</u>				
NP	<u>63-8477-14</u>				
NP	<u>94-1-6334-27</u>				
NP	<u>94-1-6334-28</u>				
NP	<u>79-1-369-2248</u>				<u>P#6</u>
<u>John -</u>					
NP	<u>87-0-7408</u>				<u>1/11/71</u>
NP	<u>174-3-5232</u>				
NP	<u>42-239292-7</u>				
NP	<u>29-28704-1873</u>				<u>P#8</u>
NP	<u>29-28704-1528</u>				
NP	<u>174-3082</u>				
NP	<u>56-4597</u>				
NP	<u>56-3067</u>				<u>NAF</u>
NP	<u>9-43395</u>				

☒ Name Searching Unit, 4989, TL# 121
☐ Service Unit, 4654, TL# 225
☐ Special File Room, 5991, TL# 122
☒ Forward to File Review, 5447, TL# 143
☒ Attention
☒ Return to 4/3/71

b6
b7C

Supervisor, Room, TL# , Ext.

☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 20
☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 30
☒ Unrestricted (ADB & Inactive Index)

☒ All References (Security & Criminal)
☐ Security Search
☐ Criminal Search
☐ Main

References Only

☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Restricted to Locality of _____

Subject TOWER BERYL GOODWIN
AKA(s) NEE: 'GOODWIN
AKA: MRS. JOE Z. TOWER
Birthdate & Place 10-25-98 NACOGDOCHES, TX.
SSAN _____
Localities HOUSTON, TX.

R# 324 Date _____ Searcher Initials _____
 Prod. _____

File Number	Serial	Ident	ADB	Inactive	Date of Ref M/Y
Goodwin	Beryl				
Tower	Joe 2 Mrs				

Federal Bureau of Investigation Records/Operations Sections

FR UTD 12-5, 19 88

- ☒ Name Searching Unit, 4989, TL# 121
☐ Service Unit, 4654, TL# 225
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☒ Forward to File Review, 5447, TL# 143
☒ Attention
☒ Return to

b6
b7C

4371 114
Supervisor, Room, TL# , Ext.

Scope of Search: (Check One)

- ☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 20
☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 30
☒ Unrestricted (ADB & Inactive Index)

Type of Search Requested:

- ☒ All References (Security & Criminal)
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☐ Criminal Search
☐ Main

References Onl

Special Instructions:

- ☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Restricted to Locality of

Subject

AKA(s)

NEE!

Birthdate & Place

SSAN

Localities

R#

321

Date

Searcher Initials

Prod.

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File Number Serial

Ident

ADB

Inactive

Date of
Ref M/Y

☒ Name Searching Unit, 4989, TL# 121
☐ Service Unit, 4654, TL# 225
☐ Special File Room, 5991, TL# 122
☒ Forward to File Review, 5447, TL# 143
☒ Attention
☒ Return to 4371

b6
b7C

Supervisor, Room, TL# , Ext.

☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 20
☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 30
☒ Unrestricted (ADB & Inactive Index)

☒ All References (Security & Criminal)
☐ Security Search
☐ Criminal Search
☐ Main

References Only

☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Restricted to Locality of _____

Localities DALLAS, TX.

R# 374 Date _____ Searcher Initials _____
 Prod. _____

[illegible]

☒ Name Searching Unit, 4989, TL# 121
☐ Service Unit, 4654, TL# 225
☐ Special File Room, 5991, TL# 122
☒ Forward to File Review, 5447, TL# 143
☒ Attention
☒ Return to 4/371

b6
b7C

Supervisor, Room, TL# , Ext.

☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 20
☐ Automated Data Base - 5 & 30
☒ Unrestricted (ADB & Inactive Index)

☒ All References (Security & Criminal)
☐ Security Search
☐ Criminal Search
☐ Main

References Onl

☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Restricted to Locality of _____

AKA(s)	NEE:	
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SSAN _____

Localities		
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R# 521 Date _____ Searcher Initials _____

Prod. 6-2-71 Date 6-2-71 Searcher Initials

[illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
IDENTIFICATION DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

PAGE BU- 1

12/06/88

Use of the following FBI record, NUMBER 594 262 FA5 , is REGULATED BY LAW. It is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY and should ONLY BE USED FOR PURPOSE REQUESTED. When further explanation of arrest charge or disposition is needed, communicate directly with the agency that contributed the fingerprints.

02

Contributor: Identifier (ORI) Name Case Number (OCA)	Subject: Name State Number (SID)	Arrested or Received	C - Charge D - Disposition																																
<p>THE FOLLOWING FBI IDENTIFICATION RECORD IS BEING FURNISHED BASED UPON THE DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION IN YOUR REQUEST AND NOT AS THE RESULT OF A FINGERPRINT COMPARISON. CONSEQUENTLY, THE FBI CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT THIS RECORD CONCERNS THE PERSON IN WHOM YOU ARE INTERESTED.</p> <p>DESCRIPTORS ON FILE ARE LISTED BELOW:</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th>TYPE OF DESCRIPTOR</th> <th>ON FILE</th> <th>TYPE OF DESCRIPTOR</th> <th>ON FILE</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>RACE</td> <td>WHITE</td> <td>BIRTH DATE</td> <td>09/29/25</td> </tr> <tr> <td>SEX</td> <td>MALE</td> <td>BIRTH CITY</td> <td>HOUSTON</td> </tr> <tr> <td>HEIGHT</td> <td>504</td> <td>BIRTH PLACE</td> <td>TEXAS</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WEIGHT</td> <td>116</td> <td>SOC SEC NO.</td> <td>451-46-9866</td> </tr> <tr> <td>HAIR</td> <td>BLOND</td> <td>MISC ID NO.</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EYES</td> <td>BLUE</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>SCARS ETC.</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>				TYPE OF DESCRIPTOR	ON FILE	TYPE OF DESCRIPTOR	ON FILE	RACE	WHITE	BIRTH DATE	09/29/25	SEX	MALE	BIRTH CITY	HOUSTON	HEIGHT	504	BIRTH PLACE	TEXAS	WEIGHT	116	SOC SEC NO.	451-46-9866	HAIR	BLOND	MISC ID NO.		EYES	BLUE			SCARS ETC.			
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<p>NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER FGPT. CLASS: 15 09 13 PM 16 17 10 13 20 16</p>																																			
USUSN000Z BU OF NAVY PERSONNEL WASHINGTON DC	TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN	APL DATE 06/17/43																																	
DCSS16000 US SECR TCH SEC WASHINGTON,DC 621-47718	TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN	DATE FP 12/06/86																																	
FBI RESTRICTED COPY DCFBID06Z CRIMINAL INVEST DIV WASHINGTON,DC BUREAU USE																																			
<p>THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE FBI</p> <p>53898-70523</p>																																			

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT
~~THE WHITE HOUSE~~
WASHINGTON

SPECIAL EXPEDITE

December 1, 1988

(Date)

TO: YEL, LIAISON

FROM: [Redacted]

SUBJECT: YLI Investigations

Subject's Name: TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN SSN 451-46-9866

Date of Birth: 9/29/25 Place of Birth: Houston, Texas

Present Address: [Redacted]

- We request:
- ☐ Copy of Previous Report
 - ☐ Name Check ☐ Expanded Name Check
 - ☒ Full Field Investigation **NO IPS TO YEL**
 - ☐ Limited Update

The person named above is being considered for:

- ☐ White House Staff Position
- ☒ Presidential Appointment *
*WITH SENATE CONFIRMATION - PAS

Attachments:

- ☒ SF 86 1 2
- ☐ SF 87, Fingerprint Card
- ☒ SF 86, Supplement

Remarks/Special Instructions:

SPECIAL EXPEDITE PAS APPOINTMENT

Previous FFI - 10/87 - we have copy

Airtel sent to
LMFO PC
BA LH
CE SA
DA SL
HO
KC
LA
H

recd
12/2/88

161-20403-24
ENCLOSURE

12/2/88
PAR/AIP/KNT

Part 1

**OPM
USE
ONLY**

Codes

Case Number

Agency Use Only (Complete items A through P using instructions in RPM Supplement 296-33.)

A Type of Investigation			B Extra Coverage			C Sensitivity Level		D Access		E Nature of Action Code			F Date of Action		Month	Day	Year		
G Geographic Location						H Position Code		I Position Title											
J SON			K Location of Official Personnel Folder			<input type="checkbox"/> None	Other Address										ZIP Code		
<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/> NPRC																
<input type="checkbox"/> At SON																			
L SOI			M Location of Security Folder			<input type="checkbox"/> None	Other Address										ZIP Code		
<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/> At SOI																
<input type="checkbox"/> NPI																			
N SIBAC Number						O Accounting Data and/or Agency Case Number													
P Requesting Official		Name and Title						Signature						Telephone Number (including Area Code)				Date	

Persons completing this form should begin with the questions below. Please type or print your answers.

1 FULL NAME						• If you have only initials in your name, use them. • If you have no middle name, enter "NMN".						2 DATE OF BIRTH						• If you are a "Jr.", "Sr.", "II", etc., enter the abbreviation in the box after your middle name.																																							
Last Name TOWER						First Name JOHN						Middle Name GOODWIN						Abbrev. 						Month 9		Day 29		Year 25																													
3 PLACE OF BIRTH																		4 SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER																																							
City Houston																		County Harris						State T X		Country (if not in the United States) 										4 4		5 5		1 1		- -		4 4		6 6		- -		9 9		8 8		6 6		6 6	
5 OTHER NAMES USED																		• Give other names you used and the period of time you used them (for example: your maiden name, name[s] by a former marriage, former name[s], alias[es], or nickname[s]). If the other name is your maiden name, put "nee" in front of it.																																							
Name NONE						Month/Year From 			Month/Year To 			Name 						Month/Year From 			Month/Year To 																																				
Name 						Month/Year From 			Month/Year To 			Name 						Month/Year From 			Month/Year To 																																				
6 OTHER IDENTIFYING INFORMATION						Height (feet and inches) 5' 5½"						Weight (pounds) 156						Hair Color Brown						Eye Color Blue						Sex (mark one box) <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male																											
7 TELEPHONE NUMBERS						Work (include Area Code and extension) 214/526-5997 or 202/775-4789												Home (include Area Code) 214/521-9494 or 202/347-2200																																							
8a CITIZENSHIP						Mark the box at the right that applies to you and follow the instructions next to the box you marked.												I am a U.S. citizen by birth in the U.S. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						Go to 8c																																	
																		I am a U.S. citizen, but I was NOT born in the U.S. <input type="checkbox"/>						Go to 8b																																	
																		I am not a U.S. citizen. <input type="checkbox"/>						Go to 8d																																	
8b UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP						If you are a U.S. Citizen, but were not born in the U.S., enter your mother's maiden name in the box to the right and provide information about one or more of the following proofs of your citizenship. Then go to Item 8c.												Mother's Maiden Name 																																							
Naturalization Certificate (Where were you naturalized?)																																																									
Court 						City 						State 		Certificate Number 						Month/Day/Year Issued 																																					
Citizenship Certificate (Where was the certificate issued?)																																																									
City 												State 		Certificate Number 						Month/Day/Year Issued 																																					
State Department Form 240--Report of Birth Abroad of a Citizen of the United States																																																									
Give the date the form was prepared and give an explanation if needed						Month/Day/Year 						Explanation 																																													
U.S. Passport																																																									
This may be either a current or previous U.S. passport.												Passport Number 						Month/Day/Year Issued 																																							
8c DUAL CITIZENSHIP																																																									
If you are (or were) a dual citizen of the United States and another country, provide the name of that country in the space to the right.												Country no																																													
8d ALIEN																																																									
• If you are an alien, provide the following information:																																																									
Place You Entered the United States: 						City 		State 		Date You Entered Month 		Day 		U.S. Year 		Alien Registration Number 						Country of Citizenship 																																			

9 WHERE YOU HAVE LIVED

Your Address. In this column, give the information requested for every place you have lived for the past 15 years. Begin with where you live now and work backwards. For any address within the past 3 years that consisted of "General Delivery", a Rural Route, or Star Route, with no designated street address, don't give that as your address; give where you actually lived and then provide in the space available on page 6 general directions for locating it.

People Who Knew You. Use this column only for those residences you show on the left that you occupied during the last 3 years. Across from each such residence, give the name and address of someone who knew you in that neighborhood; preferably someone who still lives there.

Month/Year 4/86 To now	Street Address (include apartment number, if any) 3525 Turtle Creek Blvd, #21-B	State TX	ZIP Code 75219	Name [Redacted]	b6 b7C
City Dallas				Street Address (include apartment number, if any) [Redacted]	
Country (if outside the United States)				City Dallas	State TX ZIP Code 75219
Month/Year 3/85 To 4/86	Street Address (include apartment number, if any) Chene Bourgon	State	ZIP Code	Name	
City Geneva Switzerland				Street Address (include apartment number, if any)	
Country (if outside the United States)				City	State ZIP Code
Month/Year 11/82 To 3/85	Street Address (include apartment number, if any) 20 Kalorama Circle, N.W.	State DC	ZIP Code 20008	Name	
City Washington				Street Address (include apartment number, if any)	
Country (if outside the United States)				City	State ZIP Code
Month/Year 5/77 To 11/82	Street Address (include apartment number, if any) 3115 34th Street, N.W.	State DC	ZIP Code 20011	Name	
City Washington				Street Address (include apartment number, if any)	
Country (if outside the United States)				City	State ZIP Code
Month/Year 1/77 To 5/77	Street Address (include apartment number, if any) 2808 Cathedral Way	State TX	ZIP Code 75205	Name	
City Dallas				Street Address (include apartment number, if any)	
Country (if outside the United States)	SEE 8/77 SF-86 FOR EARLIER			City	State ZIP Code
				RESIDENCES	

10 WHERE YOU WENT TO SCHOOL

Schools You Attended. In this column, give the information requested below for all schools you have attended beyond junior high school. Begin with the most recent school and work backwards. Use the following codes to indicate the type of school you attended:

SEE 8/77 SF-86

1-High School 2-College/University 3-Vocational/Trade School

People Who Knew You. Use this column only for those schools you show on the left that you attended in the last 3 years. Across from each such school, give the name and address of someone (such as an instructor or student) who knew you at the school.

Month/Year To	Code	Name of School	Name (instructor, student, etc.)
Street Address	Degree/Diploma/Other (show each degree and date received if Code 2.)	Street Address (include apartment number, if any)	
City	State ZIP Code	City	State ZIP Code
Month/Year To	Code	Name of School	Name (instructor, student, etc.)
Street Address	Degree/Diploma/Other (show each degree and date received if Code 2.)	Street Address (include apartment number, if any)	
City	State ZIP Code	City	State ZIP Code

Enter your Social Security Number before going to the next page.

4 5 1 - 4 6 - 9 8 6 6

11 YOUR EMPLOYMENT HISTORY Fill in your employment and military history. Begin with the present and work backwards 15 years. Include:

- all full-time work
- all part-time work
- all paid work
- all voluntary work
- active military duty
- self-employment
- all periods of unemployment

- If you were in the military, list each duty station as a separate period of employment.
- If you worked under a contract with the Federal Government, name your employer, not the Government agency.
- If you were self-employed or unemployed, name someone who can verify it.
- If you list an employer or actual place of employment at a location outside the U.S., show city and country in the space for city.

Use the following codes for each segment of your employment history:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 1 - Active military duty | 3 - U.S.P.H.S. Commissioned Corps | 5 - State employment | 7 - Unemployment |
| 2 - National Guard/Reserve | 4 - Other Federal employment | 6 - Self-employment | 8 - Other |

Employment. Provide the information requested for each period of employment. Give the name of your employer. Enter "self-employed" in the box for employer's name when appropriate, and "unemployed" for periods of unemployment.

Immediate Supervisor OR Person to Verify Self-employment or Unemployment. Across from each employment on the left, provide the information requested below.

Month/Year 4/86 To now	Code 6	Your Position Consultant/Lecturer	Supervisor's/Person's Name	Telephone Number
---------------------------	-----------	--------------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------

Employer's Name self-employed	Telephone Number (214) 526-5997	Street Address (if different than employer's)
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	---

Employer's Street Address 3811 Turtle Creek Blvd. #710	City (Country) Dallas	State TX	ZIP Code 75201
---	--------------------------	-------------	-------------------

Actual job location if different from employer's address:	Street Address	City (Country)	State	ZIP Code
---	----------------	----------------	-------	----------

Month/Year 3/85 To 4/86	Code 4	Your Position U. S. Negotiator/START	Supervisor's/Person's Name Secretary of State	Telephone Number
----------------------------	-----------	---	--	------------------

Employer's Name Department of State	Telephone Number ()	Street Address (if different than employer's)
--	-------------------------	---

Employer's Street Address U. S. Mission	City (Country) Geneva, SWITZERLAND	State	ZIP Code
--	---------------------------------------	-------	----------

Actual job location if different from employer's address:	Street Address	City (Country)	State	ZIP Code
---	----------------	----------------	-------	----------

Month/Year 1/85 To 3/85	Code 6	Your Position Consultant	Supervisor's/Person's Name	Telephone Number
----------------------------	-----------	-----------------------------	----------------------------	------------------

Employer's Name Self-employed (OFFICE CLOSED 3/85)	Telephone Number ()	Street Address (if different than employer's)
---	-------------------------	---

Employer's Street Address 666 11th St., N.W.	City (Country) Washington	State D.C.	ZIP Code 20001
---	------------------------------	---------------	-------------------

Actual job location if different from employer's address:	Street Address	City (Country)	State	ZIP Code
---	----------------	----------------	-------	----------

Month/Year 6/81 To 1/85	Code 4	Your Position United States Senator	Supervisor's/Person's Name Secy of the Senate	Telephone Number (202) 224-3121
----------------------------	-----------	--	--	------------------------------------

Employer's Name United States Senate	Telephone Number (202) 224-2934	Street Address (if different than employer's)
---	------------------------------------	---

Employer's Street Address 1st & C Streets, N.E.	City (Country) Washington	State D.C.	ZIP Code 20001
--	------------------------------	---------------	-------------------

Actual job location if different from employer's address:	Street Address	City (Country)	State	ZIP Code
---	----------------	----------------	-------	----------

Month/Year To	Code	Your Position SEE 8/77 SF-86 for earlier data	Supervisor's/Person's Name	Telephone Number ()
------------------	------	--	----------------------------	-------------------------

Employer's Name	Telephone Number ()	Street Address (if different than employer's)
-----------------	-------------------------	---

Employer's Street Address	City (Country)	State	ZIP Code
---------------------------	----------------	-------	----------

Actual job location if different from employer's address:	Street Address	City (Country)	State	ZIP Code
---	----------------	----------------	-------	----------

Enter your Social Security Number before going to the next page.

4, 5, 1 - 4, 6 - 9, 8, 6, 6

12 PEOPLE WHO KNOW YOU WELL List four people who know you well and live in the United States.

• Don't list spouse, other relatives, or former spouses.

• Try not to list anyone mentioned in items 9, 10, or 11.

b6

b7c

Name [Redacted]		Name Hon. John McCain	
Number of Years Known approx. 30	Daytime Telephone Number [Redacted]	Number of Years Known 12	Daytime Telephone Number 202/224-2235
Home Address [Redacted]		Home Address United States Senate	
City Dallas	State TX	City Washington	State DC
ZIP Code 75209		ZIP Code 20510	
Name [Redacted]		Name [Redacted]	
Number of Years Known approx. 50	Daytime Telephone Number [Redacted]	Number of Years Known 25	Daytime Telephone Number [Redacted]
Home Address [Redacted]		Home Address [Redacted]	
City Dallas	State TX	City Dallas	State TX
ZIP Code 75275		ZIP Code 75209	

13a YOUR MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS List all U.S.-based organizations, except labor unions, political, or religious organizations you belonged to in the last 15 years.

Membership From Month/Year To Month/Year	Name of Organization	Nature of Affiliation/ Office Held, if Any	Location of Organization	
			City (Country)	State
1953 - 12/84*	American Association of University Professors	general membership	?	
1967-present	American Legion	"	Wichita Falls	T, X
1969-present	Masonic Lodge	"	Wichita Falls	T, X

13b YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS List any foreign-based political or business organizations of which you have been a member, official, employee, or active participant at any time.

Involvement From Month/Year To Month/Year	Name of Foreign Organization	Nature of Affiliation/ Office Held, if Any	Location of Organization	
			City (Country)	State
?/53-present	Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government	general membership	London, England	

14 FOREIGN COUNTRIES YOU HAVE VISITED • Do not include countries covered in items 9, 10, and 11.

• Use appropriate number code to show the purpose of your visit:

1 - Business

3 - Education

2 - Pleasure

4 - Other

In Country From Month/Year To Month/Year	Code	Country	In Country From Month/Year To Month/Year	Code	Country
		SEE ADDENDUM			

15 PERSONAL CONTACT WITH FOREIGN NATIONALS Have you ever had a personal or continuing contact with a national of a Soviet, Soviet bloc, or communist country? If "YES", provide the information below.

Period of Contact (From/To)	Name of National	Country of National	Nature of Contact
	SEE ADDENDUM		

16a MILITARY AND/OR MERCHANT MARINE SERVICE.

Have you served in the United States military?

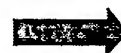
Have you served in the United States Merchant Marine?

(If you served in the United States military, go to 16b and 16c; if you only served in the United States Merchant Marine, go to 16c; if you answered "NO" to both questions, go to question 17.)

Yes	No
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

16b CURRENT MILITARY STATUS Mark the box that corresponds to your current military status.☐ None☐ Active Duty☐ Active Reserve☐ National Guard☒ Inactive Reserve☐ Retired

Enter your Social Security Number before going to the next page.



4, 5, 1 - 4, 6 - 9, 8, 6, 6

16c ACTIVE SERVICE Show each period of active service (includes active military reserve service). Use one of the following in the box for Code. Mark "O" for Officer or "E" for Enlisted.

Month/Year	Month/Year	Code	Service or Certificate Number	Month/Year	Month/Year	Code	Service or Certificate Number
1943 ^{to}	1946	3	574 63 75	To			

17 YOUR RELATIVES Give full names and enter the correct code for all relatives, living or dead, specified below:

- | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 1 - Mother | 4 - Stepfather | 7 - Stepchild | 10 - Stepbrother | 13 - Half-sister | 16 - Guardian |
| 2 - Father | 5 - Foster parent | 8 - Brother | 11 - Stepsister | 14 - Father-in-law | |
| 3 - Stepmother | 6 - Child (adopted also) | 9 - Sister | 12 - Half-brother | 15 - Mother-in-law | |

Full Name (if deceased, check box on the left before entering name)	Code	Date of Birth Month/Day/Year	Country of Birth	Country of Citizenship	Current Street Address and City (country) of Living Relatives	State
<input type="checkbox"/> Beryl Goodwin Tower	1	10/25/98	Nacogdoches, TX USA	USA	Tremont Nursing Home 2501 Westerland	TX
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Joe Z Tower	2	6/2/98	Douglassville, TX USA	USA	Houston, TX 77063	
<input type="checkbox"/>	6		USA	USA		
<input type="checkbox"/> Marian Goodwin Tower	6	8/10/55	Wichita Falls, TX USA	USA	6041 Milton Dallas 75206	TX
<input type="checkbox"/>	6		USA	USA		
<input type="checkbox"/>	9		USA	USA		
<input type="checkbox"/>						
<input type="checkbox"/>						
<input type="checkbox"/>						

18 YOUR MARITAL STATUS Mark one of the following boxes to show your current marital status:

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 - Never married (go to question 19) | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 - Separated | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5 - Divorced |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2 - Married | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 - Legally separated | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 - Widowed |

Current Spouse Complete the following about your current spouse.

Full Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth (Include country if outside the U.S.)	Social Security Number

Other Names Used (Specify maiden name, names by other marriages, etc., and show dates used for each name)

Country of Citizenship	Date Married	Place Married (Include country if outside the U.S.)	State

If Separated, Date of Separation (Mo./Day/Yr.)	If Legally Separated, Where is the Record Located? City (Country)	State

Address of Current Spouse (Street, city, and country if outside the U.S.)	State	ZIP Code

Former Spouse(s) Complete the following about your former spouse(s).

Full Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth (Include country if outside the U.S.)	State
Lilla Burt Cummings	10/6/29	Philadelphia	PA

Country of Citizenship	Date Married	Place Married (Include country if outside the U.S.)	State
USA	5/29/77	Dallas	TX

Check One, Then Give Date	Month/Day/Year	If Divorced, Where is the Record Located? City (Country)	State
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed	9/10/87	Washington WMFO	DC

Address of Former Spouse (Street, city, and country if outside the U.S.)	State	ZIP Code
20 Kalorama Circle, N.W., Washington	DC	200008

19 Does the citizen of another country, or a United States citizen by other than birth, live at your residence? If "Yes", provide the information required below. If a United States citizen by other than birth lives with you, show both "United States" and prior country of citizenship below. Don't list your spouse or other relatives you provided in question 17.

Name of Person	Country of Citizenship	Relationship

Enter your Social Security Number before going to the next page.

4, 5, 1 - 4, 6 - 9, 8, 6, 6

CONTINUATION SPACE: Use the continuation sheets(s) (SF 86A) for additional answers to questions 9, 10, and 11. Use the space below to continue answers to all other questions. If more space is needed than what is provided below, go to page 9. Before each answer, identify the number of the question.

13a. Membership in Organizations

1942-present Kappa Sigma Fraternity past Worthy Grand Master
trustee/member Charlottesville, VA

6/87-present Dallas Committee on Foreign Relations - member - Dallas, TX

c.'80-present The Metropolitan Club member Washington, D. C.

?-pres. Texas Society, Sons of the American Revolution - member -

?-pres. Texas Philosophical Society member Austin, Texas

?-pres. Texas State Historical Assn. member Austin, Texas

18. Former Spouse: Joza Lou Bullington Tower DOB: 6/04/20 POB: San Diego, CA/US Citizen
Date of Marriage: 3/21/52 Date Divorced: 12/27/76, Wichita Falls, TX
Current address: 7510 Northwest Highway, #6
Dallas, Texas 75225 - DL
(Place of marriage: Wichita Falls, TX) - DL

14. Foreign Countries Visited

Refer to August 1987 SF-86 for travel up to that time.

August 1987 - 1 - England, Pakistan

October 1987 -1- Moscow, USSR (Member U. S. delegation, United Nations Assn.
conference on Arms Control and other bilateral national
security issues.)

February 1988 -1- Germany, Austria, England

June-July 1988 -1 & 2- England August-Sept 1988: England

15. PERSONAL CONTACT WITH FOREIGN NATIONALS

October 1987: [redacted] USSR, lunch during UN Assn. conference

Sept. 25, 1988: [redacted] USSR, lunch (during ministerial visit)

[redacted] during arms negotiations in Geneva)

2/9/88: [redacted] of Hungary; dinner in Vienna

(memo of conversation filed with State Department)

WMFO

b6
b7C

HO-CIA
check

This concludes Part 1 of this form. If you have used Page 9, continuation sheets, or blank sheets to complete any of the questions in Part 1, give the number for those questions in the space to the right:

Enter your Social Security Number [redacted] going to the next page.

4, 5, 11 - 4, 6 - 9, 8, 6, 6

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SENSITIVE POSITIONS

Form Approved:
O.M.B. No. 3206-0007
Expires: 8-31-90
NSN 7540-00-634-4036

Part 2

OPM
USE
ONLY

Codes

Case Number

Your Selective Service Record

20a Are you a male born after December 31, 1959? If "Yes", go to 20b. If "No", go to 21.

Yes	No
	X

20b Have you registered with the Selective Service System? If "Yes", give your registration number:

20c If you answered "No", to 20b, are you legally exempt? If "Yes", state the reason for the exemption:

Your Military Record

21a Have you ever received other than an honorable discharge from the military? If "Yes", provide:

Yes	No
	X

Date of Discharge (Month and Year):

Type of Discharge:

21b Have you ever been subject to court-martial or other disciplinary proceedings under the Uniform Code of Military Justice? If "Yes", list any disciplinary proceedings in the last 15 years and all courts-martial.

Yes	No
	X

Date (Month/Year)	Charge or Specification	Place (City and county/country if outside the United States)	State

Your Employment Record

22 Has any of the following happened to you in the last 15 years? If "Yes", begin with the most recent occurrence and go backwards, providing date fired, quit, or left, and other information requested.

Yes	No
	X

Use the following codes to explain the reason your employment was ended:

1 - Fired from job

3 - Left a job by mutual agreement following allegations of misconduct

5 - Left a job for other reasons under unfavorable circumstances

2 - Quit a job after being told you'd be fired

4 - Left a job by mutual agreement following allegations of unsatisfactory performance

Date (Month/Year)	Code	Employer's Name and Address	State	ZIP Code

Your Police Record

23 If you answer "Yes", to a, b, c, d, or e below, explain your answer(s) in the space provided. Do not include anything that happened before your 16th birthday.

Yes	No
-----	----

23a Have you ever been arrested, charged, or convicted of a felony offense?

	X
--	---

23b Have you ever been arrested, charged, or convicted of a firearms or explosives charge?

	X
--	---

23c Are there currently any charges pending against you for any criminal offense?

	X
--	---

23d Have you ever been arrested, charged, or convicted of any offenses related to alcohol or drugs?

	X
--	---

23e Have you ever been arrested, charged, or convicted of any other type of offense? Leave out traffic fines of less than \$100.

	X
--	---

Date (Month/Year)	Offense	Action Taken	Law Enforcement Authority or Court (City and county/country if outside the U.S.)	State	ZIP Code

Your Involvement With Alcohol and Dangerous Drugs, Including Marijuana and Cocaine

24 This item concerns the use of alcoholic beverages, and the supplying or using, without a prescription, of marijuana, cocaine, hashish, narcotics (opium, morphine, codeine, heroin, etc.), stimulants (cocaine, amphetamines, etc.), depressants (barbiturates, methaqualone, tranquilizers, etc.), hallucinogenics (LSD, PCP, etc.), or other dangerous or illegal drugs.

Yes	No
-----	----

24a Do you now use, or within the last 5 years have you used, alcoholic beverages habitually to excess?

	X
--	---

24b Do you now use or supply, or within the last 5 years have you used or supplied, marijuana, cocaine, narcotics, hallucinogenics, or other dangerous or illegal drugs?

	X
--	---

24c If you answered "Yes" to question a or b above, provide at the top of page 8 information relating to the types of substance(s) used, the periods and frequency of use for each, and any other details or explanation relating to your use of these substances.

Enter your Social Security Number before going to the next page.

4, 5, 1 - 4, 6 - 9, 8, 6, 6

Your Involvement With Alcohol and Dangerous Drugs, Including Marijuana and Cocaine (Continued)

From (Month/Year)	To (Month/Year)	Type of Substance Used	Explanation (In your comments be sure to give the frequency of your use during each period you listed, including the period of most recent use.)

Your Medical Record

25 Have you ever had a nervous breakdown or have you ever had medical treatment for a mental condition? If "Yes", provide information below. Give period of treatment under "From/To" starting from the present.

Yes No
X

From (Month/Year)	To (Month/Year)	Name/Address of Person, Hospital, or Institution Providing Treatment (Include country if outside the United States)	State	ZIP Code

Your Investigations Record

26 Has the United States Government ever investigated your background? If "Yes", use the codes that follow to provide the requested information below. If "Yes", but you can't recall the investigating agency and/or the security clearance received, enter "Other" agency code or clearance code, as appropriate, and "Don't know" or "Don't recall" under the "Other Agency" heading, below. If your response is "No", or you don't know or can't recall if you were investigated and cleared, check the "No" box.

Yes No
X

Codes for Investigating Agency		Codes for Security Clearance Received	
1 - Defense Department	4 - FBI	0 - Not Required	3 - Top Secret
2 - State Department	5 - Treasury Department	1 - Confidential	4 - Sensitive Compartmented Information
3 - Office of Personnel Management	6 - Other (Specify)	2 - Secret	5 - Q-Sensitive
			6 - Q-Nonsensitive
			7 - L
			8 - Other

Date (Month/Year)	Agency Code	Other Agency	Clearance Code	Date (Month/Year)	Agency Code	Other Agency	Clearance Code
9/87	4		3,4,5				

27 To your knowledge, have you ever had a clearance or access authorization denied, suspended, or revoked, or have you ever been deferred from Government employment? If "Yes", give date of action and agency.

Yes No
X

Date (Month/Year)	Department or Agency Taking Action	Date (Month/Year)	Department or Agency Taking Action

Your Financial Record

	Yes	No
28a Have you, your spouse, or a company effectively controlled by you filed for bankruptcy?		X
28b Have you, your spouse, or a company effectively controlled by you been declared bankrupt?		X
28c Have you, your spouse, or a company effectively controlled by you been subject to a tax lien or other lien?		X
28d Have you, your spouse, or a company effectively controlled by you had legal judgement rendered against you for a debt?		X

If you answered "Yes" to a, b, c, or d above, provide date of initial action and other information requested below.

Date (Month/Year)	Type of Action	Name Action Occurred Under	Name/Address of Court or Agency Handling Case	State	ZIP Code

29 Are you now over ninety (90) days delinquent on any loan or financial obligation? Include delinquent loans or obligations funded or guaranteed by the Federal Government. (If your answer is "Yes", provide date loan or obligation was made and other information requested below.)

Yes No
X

Date (Month/Year)	Type of Loan or Obligation	Name/Address of Creditor or Obligor	State	ZIP Code

Enter your Social Security Number here going to the next page.

4, 5, 1 - 4, 6 - 9, 8, 6, 6

Your Association Record

	Yes	No
30a Have you ever been a member, officer, or employee of the Communist Party?		X
30b Have you ever been a member, officer, or employee of any organization, association, or group which: 1) advocates the overthrow of our Government; 2) advocates or approves of committing acts of force or violence to deny others their constitutional rights; or 3) wants to change our form of Government by unconstitutional means?		X
30c Have you ever made a financial or other material contribution to any organization of the type described in Questions 30a or 30b? If you answered "Yes", to 30a, 30b, or 30c, answer 30d, 30e, and 30f.		X
30d At the time of your membership, participation, or contribution did you know of the unlawful aims of the organization(s)?		
30e Did you intend to promote the unlawful aims of the organization(s)?		
30f List each organization and provide an explanation of your involvement and activities with each one:		

Continuation Space



Use the continuation sheet(s) (*SF 86A*) for additional answers to questions 9, 10, and 11. Use the space below to continue answers to all other questions and any information you would like to add. If more space is needed than what is provided below, use a blank sheet(s) of paper. Start each sheet with your name and Social Security Number. Before each answer, identify the number of the question.

[illegible]

After completing Parts 1 and 2 of this form, you should review your answers to all questions to make sure the form is complete and accurate, and then sign and date the following certification and sign and date the release on page 10.

Certification That My Answers Are True

I read and understood the instructions explaining the purpose of this form and the Federal Government's authority for asking the questions. I read each question asked of me and understood each question. I understand that if I did not tell the truth on this form or did not list all relevant or material facts or events, the Federal Government may fire me, may not hire me, may deny or revoke my clearance, or may prosecute me. I understand that prosecution may result in my being fined up to \$10,000, imprisoned up to 5 years, or both.

Signature (Sign in Ink) 	Date 11/30/88
Enter your Social Security Number before going to the next page. 	4, 5, 1 - 4, 6 - 9, 8, 6, 6

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Carefully read this authorization to release information about you, then sign and date it in ink.

AUTHORITY FOR RELEASE OF INFORMATION

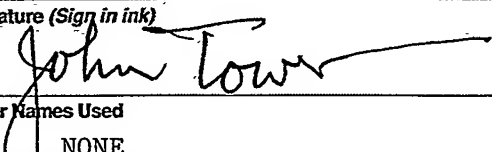
I Authorize any duly accredited representative of the Federal Government, including those from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Department of Defense, to obtain any information relating to my activities from schools, residential management agents, employers, criminal justice agencies, financial or lending institutions, credit bureaus, consumer reporting agencies, retail business establishments, medical institutions, hospitals or other repositories of medical records, or individuals. This information may include, but is not limited to, my academic, residential, achievement, performance, attendance, personal history, disciplinary, criminal history record, arrest, conviction, medical, psychiatric/psychological, and financial and credit information.

I Further Authorize the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Defense, and any other authorized agency, to request criminal history record information about me from criminal justice agencies for the purpose of determining my eligibility for access to classified information, or assignment to, or retention in, sensitive national security duties, in accordance with 5 U.S.C. 9101.

I Direct You To Release such information upon request of the duly accredited representative of any authorized agency regardless of any agreement I may have made with you previously to the contrary.

I Understand that the information you release is for official use by the Federal Government, and that these users may redisclose the information you release as authorized by law.

I Release any individual, including records custodians, from all liability for damages that may result to me on account of compliance or any attempts to comply with this authorization. This release is binding, now and in the future, on my heirs, assigns, associates, and personal representative(s) of any nature. Copies of this authorization that show my signature are as valid as the original release signed by me.

Signature (Sign in ink) 		Full Name (Typed) JOHN GOODWIN TOWER	
Other Names Used NONE		Social Security Number 451 - 46 - 9866	
Current Address (Street, City) 3525 Turtle Creek Blvd, #21-B, Dallas		State TX	ZIP Code 7 52 19
Date 30 Nov 88		Home Telephone Number (Include Area Code) 214/521-9494	
Parent/Guardian Signature (If Required)			

SUPPLEMENT TO STANDARD FORM 86 (SF-86)
(Attach additional pages if necessary)

- 1S. Please list the names of all corporations, firms, partnerships or other business enterprises, and all nonprofit organizations and other institutions with which you are now, or during the past five years have been, affiliated as an officer, owner, director, trustee, partner, advisor, attorney or consultant. In addition, please provide the names of any other organizations with which you were affiliated prior to the past five years that might present a potential conflict or appearance of conflict of interest with your prospective appointment. (Please note that in the case of an attorney's client listing, it is only necessary to provide the names of major clients and those that might present a potential conflict or appearance of conflict of interest with the prospective appointment).

See attachment, as well as SF-86 Supplement filed in August 1987.

- 2S. Please list all your interests in real property, other than a personal residence, setting forth the nature of your interest, the type of property and the address.

None.

- 3S. Have you or any firm, company or other entity with which you have been associated ever been convicted of a violation of any Federal, state, county or municipal law, regulation or ordinance? If so, please provide full details.

No, I have not personally been convicted of any such violation; nor to my personal knowledge have any of the companies which I have served as a board member or consultant been convicted in connection with any projects with which I have been involved.

- 4S. Have you or any firm, company or other entity with which you have been associated ever been the subject of Federal, state or local investigation for possible violation of a criminal statute? If so, please give full details.

I have not personally been investigated for such a violation, and I have no personal knowledge of any such investigation of the companies I have served as a board member or consultant, relating to the projects in which I have been involved as their consultant. A list of affiliations which includes pertinent projects is included for further examination.

ADDENDUM TO THE SUPPLEMENT TO SF-86

JOHN G. TOWER

- verify affiliations*
- 1S. Affiliations added since August 1987; and those for which I am serving or have served as a consultant:

WMFO Hicks & Associates consultant
1710 Goodridge Drive
McLean, VA 22102

DL LTV Aerospace & Defense Co. consultant
P. O. Box 650003, Mail Stop TH-23
Dallas, TX 75265-0003

WMFO Martin-Marietta Information Systems consultant
Group
6801 Rockledge Drive
Bethesda, MD 20817

legat London Maxwell Communications Corp. consultant
33 Holborn
London EC1N 2NE ENGLAND

WMFO Textron, Inc. consultant
1090 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Suite 1100
Washington, D. C. 20005

LA Rockwell International, Inc. consultant
El Segundo, CA

National Commission on the Public Service member
1616 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

American Air Museum in Britain; Campaign advisor
c/o Kessler & Associates
250 10th Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

United Nations Association of the USA Chairman, US-USSR
485 Fifth Avenue Parallel Studies Program
New York, New York 10017

5S. Have you ever been involved in civil or criminal litigation, or in administrative or legislative proceedings of any kind, either as a plaintiff, defendant, respondent, witness or party in interest? If so, please give full details identifying dates, issues litigated and the location where the civil action is recorded.

DL

1) No fault divorce action, District Court, Wichita County, TX,
27 December 1976, ending marriage to Joza Lou Bullington Tower.

WMFO

2) No-fault divorce action, Superior Court, Washington, D. C.,
10 September 1987, ending marriage to Lilla Burt Cummings Tower.

6S. Have you ever been disciplined or cited for a breach of ethics or unprofessional conduct by, or been the subject of a complaint to any court, administrative agency, professional association, disciplinary committee, or other professional group? If so, please give full details.

No.

7S. Have you ever run for political office, served on a political committee or been identified in a public way with a particular organization, candidate or issue? Have any complaints been lodged against you or your political committee with the Federal Election Commission or state or local election authorities? If so, please describe.

1954 - Candidate for Texas Legislature

1960 - Candidate for U. S. Senate

1961, 1966, 1972 & 1978 - elected to U. S. Senate

1984 - Chairman, Reagan-Bush campaign in Texas

I know of no complaints filed against me. Reports are on file with FEC.

8S. Are you currently, or have you ever been, a member or office holder in any club or organization that restricts or restricted membership on the basis of sex, race, color, religion, national origin, age or handicap? If so, provide the name, address and dates of membership for each.

PH Kappa Sigma Fraternity (male only)
Charlottesville, VA
9/42 - present

WMFO Metropolitan Club (formerly did not admit women)
Washington, D. C.
approximately 1980 to present

DL Masonic Lodge & Shrine
Wichita Falls, Texas

WMFO
FEC check

Obtain
statements of
membership
policy

9S. Please identify any adults (18 years or older) currently living with you that are not members of your immediate family. Provide the names of those individuals, dates and places of birth, and whether or not they are United States citizens.

None

10S. Is there anything in your personal life that could be used by someone to coerce or blackmail you? Is there anything in your life that could cause an embarrassment to you or to the President if publicly known? If so, please provide full details.

No.

I understand that the information being provided on this supplement to the SF-86 is to be considered part of the original SF-86 dated 30 Nov 88 and a false statement on this form is punishable by law.

Signed

John Tower

SPECIAL INQUIRY

TO:

ELSUR
NCIC

Room 4997 TL 114
Room 7233 TL 243
Wanted & CCH Files
Attn:

ELSUR

ELIMINATE REFERENCES WHERE
POSSIBLE BASED ON DOB

b6
b7C

NADDIS

OCIS, ISIS, AND IIS Entered on Nov 28 1988

FROM:

SPECIAL INQUIRY Room 4371 TL 114

SUBJECT:

TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN

, SPIN, BUDED: 11-28-88

The Bureau has been requested to conduct an expedite investigation of the above-captioned subject, who is being considered for an unspecified Presidential appointment. The indicated unit is requested to check appropriate indices based upon available information concerning subject, employment, and all close relatives. It is requested that the results of your checks, positive or negative, be indicated in the spaces provided below, and relayed to the Special Inquiry Unit (SPIN), Room 4371 TL 114 via routing slip marked "URGENT", on or before BUDED.

Result

Naddis
2/6/89
pk.

Subject is described as follows:

Name: *NR* TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN

DOB: _____

POB: _____

SSAN: _____

Current residence: _____

Employment: _____

Houston TX or Wash DC

Close Relatives

Result

Relationship

Name

DOB

Residence

Check conducted by _____

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CHUSC: LIAO*DERONG*010101*001

UPDATE-DATE: 20SEP85

STATUS: ACTIVE

USC-LAST: TOWER

JSC-FIRST: JOHN

USC-CITY: HUNT VALLEY

USC-STATE: MD

USC-ZIP: 21031

USC-AREA-PROF: AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY DEVELOPMENT CO

RECORD-DATE: 850920

NI

SECRET
CLASSIFIED BY 9912
DECLASSIFY ON 11/28/08

~~SECRET~~

SPECIAL INQUIRY

TO:

ELSUR
NCIC

Room 4997 TL 114
Room 7233 TL 243
Wanted & CCW Files
Attn:

ELSUR

ELIMINATE REFERENCES WHERE
POSSIBLE BASED ON DOB

NADDIS

b6
b7C

OCIS, ISIS, AND IIS Entered on 12/5/88

FROM:

SPECIAL INQUIRY Room 4371 TL 114

SUBJECT:

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER

, SPIN, BUDED: 12/9/88

The Bureau has been requested to conduct an expedite investigation of the above-captioned subject, who is being considered for an unspecified Presidential appointment. The indicated unit is requested to check appropriate indices based upon available information concerning subject, employment, and all close relatives. It is requested that the results of your checks, positive or negative, be indicated in the spaces provided below, and relayed to the Special Inquiry Unit (SPIN), Room 4371 TL 114 via routing slip marked "URGENT", on or before BUDED.

Subject is described as follows:

Result

Name: Subj already searched (11-28-88)
DOB: _____
POB: _____
SSAN: _____
Current residence: _____

JUST P
1.566712

Employment: _____

Close Relatives

Result

Relationship

Name

DOB

Residence

NR
NR
NR
NR

DAUGHTER

MARTIN GOODWIN TOWER

8/10/55 DALLAS, TX.

Check conducted:

12/8

SPECIAL INQUIRY

TO:

ELSUR
NCIC

Room 4997 TL 114
Room 7233 TL 243
Wanted & CCH Files
Attn:

ELSUR

ELIMINATE REFERENCES WHERE
POSSIBLE BASED ON DOB

NADDIS

OCIS, ISIS, AND IIS Entered on Nov 28 1988

FROM:

SPECIAL INQUIRY Room 4371 TL 114

SUBJECT:

TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN

SPIN, BUDED: 11-28-88

The Bureau has been requested to conduct an expedite investigation of the above-captioned subject, who is being considered for an unspecified Presidential appointment. The indicated unit is requested to check appropriate indices based upon available information concerning subject, employment, and all close relatives. It is requested that the results of your checks, positive or negative, be indicated in the spaces provided below, and relayed to the Special Inquiry Unit (SPIN), Room 4371 TL 114 via routing slip marked "URGENT", on or before BUDED.

Subject is described as follows:

Name: TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN

DOB: 9-29-25

POB: Houston TX

SSAN: 451-46-9866

Current residence: _____

Employment: _____

Houston TX or Wash DC

Close Relatives

<u>Result</u>	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>DOB</u>	<u>Residence</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Check conducted:

11/29/88

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 05-17-2011
CLASSIFIED BY 60322 UC/LP/PJ/KM
REASON: 1.4 (c)
DECLASSIFY ON: 05-17-2036

COLLATED FROM CLASSIFIED MATERIAL

INSURE THIS DOCUMENT IS REVIEWED
FOR PROPER CLASSIFICATION PRIOR TO
ANY CONSIDERATION FOR RELEASE.

~~SECRET~~

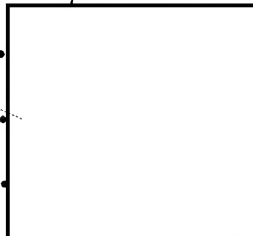
1. TOWER, JOHN

2. 9/9/80

3.

4.

5.



*ND - Ho
12/1/86*

b1

OH

~~SECRET~~

C&E 1541, ~~REASON (2)(3), DRD 9/12/2000~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

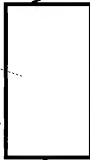
COLLATED FROM CLASSIFIED MATERIAL

INSURE THIS DOCUMENT IS REVIEWED
FOR PROPER CLASSIFICATION PRIOR TO
ANY CONSIDERATION FOR RELEASE.

b1

(S)

12/3/68



WFO

TOWER, JOHN G.

TOWER, JOHN

(S)



12/7/66

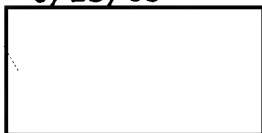
~~SECRET~~

CH

NB
WFO-8/28/87

TOWER, JOHN
6/25/85

(S)



~~SECRET~~

NY-168 (Rev. 11-26-82)

NB
NY-12/1/84

Classified By G-3
Declassify OADR

FBI/DOJ

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b1

3

COLLATED FROM CLASSIFIED MATERIAL

INSURE THIS DOCUMENT IS REVIEWED
FOR PROPER CLASSIFICATION PRIOR TO
ANY CONSIDERATION FOR RELEASE.

WFO-87 (Rev. 3-17-83)

~~SECRET~~
Classified by G-3
Declassify on: OADR

(S)

(S)

TOWER, JOHN
Bufile: 100-183386
WFOfile: [redacted]

0/18/83 [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

ND WFO-8/28/87

FBI/DOJ

TOWER, JOHN (SP)

~~SECRET~~

Bufile: 65-30000
WFOfile: [redacted]

~~SECRET~~
Classified by G-3
Declassify on: OADR

WFO-73 (Rev. 12-16-82)

ND WFO-8/28/87

FBI/DOJ

OH

(S)

TOWER, JOHN
NY 105-174489

11/1/85

~~SECRET~~

NY-168 (Rev. 11-26-82)

ND NY-12/1/86

Classified By G-3
Declassify OADR

FBI/DOJ

OH

TOWER JOHN

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
Classified by..3879
Exempt from GDS, Categories..2,3
Date of Declassification..Indefinite

WFO-75 (8-1-77)

FBI/DOJ

ND WFO-8/28/87

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

COLLATED FROM CLASSIFIED MATERIAL

INSURE THIS DOCUMENT IS REVIEWED
FOR PROPER CLASSIFICATION PRIOR TO
ANY CONSIDERATION FOR RELEASE.

TOWER, JOHN (SENATOR)

NYUGOEMB - WFO

6/26/64

~~Secret~~ OTH

TOWER, JOHN

Huleg-WFO

4-12-66

~~Secret~~ OTH

TOWER, JOHN (ph)

~~SECRET~~

b1

SECRET

Classified by..

Exempt from GDS, Categories.2,3

Date of Declassification..Indefinite

WFO-95 (12-16-77)

FBI/DOJ

TOWER, JOHN

1/29/81

NY 100#60713

CLASS. & EXT. BY 8520

REASON#FCIM II, 1#2.4.2 (2) (3)

DATE OF REVIEW 1/29/81

~~SECRET~~

NY#168

(Rev. 3-15-79)

~~SECRET~~

25304

SPECIAL INQUIRY

TO:

ELSUR
NCIC

Room 4997 TL 114
Room 7233 TL 243
Wanted & CCH Files
Attn: [REDACTED]

ELSUR

ELIMINATE REFERENCES WHERE
POSSIBLE BASED ON DOB

NADDIS

b6
b7C

OCIS, ISIS, AND IIS Entered on 12/5/88

FROM:

SPECIAL INQUIRY Room 4371 TL 114 [REDACTED]

SUBJECT:

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER

, SPIN, BUDED: 12/9/88

The Bureau has been requested to conduct an expedite investigation of the above-captioned subject, who is being considered for an unspecified Presidential appointment. The indicated unit is requested to check appropriate indices based upon available information concerning subject, employment, and all close relatives. It is requested that the results of your checks, positive or negative, be indicated in the spaces provided below, and relayed to the Special Inquiry Unit (SPIN), Room 4371 TL 114 via routing slip marked "URGENT", on or before BUDED.

Subject is described as follows:

Result

Name:

Subj already searched (11-28-88)

DOB:

POB:

SSAN:

Current residence:

Employment:

Close Relatives

Result

Relationship

Name

DOB

Residence

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

DAUGHTER

MARTIAN GOODWIN TOWER

8/10/55 DALLAS, TX.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Check conducted by

b6
b7C

* TRANSMITTED *

1L010059ICB34114.QW.ECFBIWAOO.NAM/COOK,

DOB

* RECEIVED *

1L010059ICB34114

ECFBIWAOO

NO NCIC WANT DOB [REDACTED] NAM/CZOT, [REDACTED]

* TRANSMITTED *

1L010060LCB34114.QW.ECFBIWAOO.NAM/TOWER, MARIAN GOODWIN.DOB/081055

* RECEIVED *

1L010060LCB34114

ECFBIWAOO

NO NCIC WANT DOB/081055 NAM/TOWER, MARIAN GOODWIN

* TRANSMITTED *

1L010061LCB34114.QW.ECFBIWAOO.NAM [REDACTED]

DOB [REDACTED]

* RECEIVED *

1L010061LCB34114

ECFBIWAOO

NO NCIC WANT DOB [REDACTED] NAM [REDACTED]

* TRANSMITTED *

1L010062LCB34114.QW.ECFBIWAOO.NAM [REDACTED]

DOB [REDACTED]

SOC [REDACTED]

* RECEIVED *

1L010062LCB34114

ECFBIWAOO

NO NCIC WANT SOC [REDACTED]

NO NCIC WANT DOB [REDACTED]

NAM [REDACTED]

SPECIAL INQUIRY

b6
b7c

TO:

EL SUR
NCIC

Room 4997 TL 114
Room 7233 TL 243
Wanted & CCH Files
Attn:

EL SUR

ELIMINATE REFERENCES WHERE
POSSIBLE BASED ON DOB

NADDIS

OCIS, ISIS, AND IIS Entered on Nov 28 1988

FROM:

SPECIAL INQUIRY Room 4371 TL 114

SUBJECT:

TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN

, SPIN, BUDED: 11-28-88

The Bureau has been requested to conduct an expedite investigation of the above-captioned subject, who is being considered for an unspecified Presidential appointment. The indicated unit is requested to check appropriate indices based upon available information concerning subject, employment, and all close relatives. It is requested that the results of your checks, positive or negative, be indicated in the spaces provided below, and relayed to the Special Inquiry Unit (SPIN), Room 4371 TL 114 via routing slip marked "URGENT", on or before BUDED.

Subject is described as follows:

Result

Neg. NCIC/EB

Name: TOWER, JOHN GOODWIN

DOB: 9-29-25

POB: Houston TX

SSAN: 451-46-9866

Current residence: _____

Employment: _____

Houston TX or Wash DC

Close Relatives

Result

Relationship

Name

DOB

Residence

Check conducted by _____

* TRANSMITTED *

1L010002EUG33312.QW.DCFBIWA00.NAM/TOWER,JOHN GOODWIN.DOB/092925.SOC/451469866

* RECEIVED *

1L010002EUG33312

DCFBIWA00

NO NCIC WANT SOC/451469866

NO NCIC WANT DOB/092925 NAM/TOWER,JOHN GOODWIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-17-2011 BY 60322 UC/LP/PJ/KM

b6
b7c

REV. 10/12/88

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP

TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL #	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	
	233	5012			233	5012		
	231	3012			233	5155		
	233	5012			233	5155		
	231	3012						
	231	3028			121	4989		
	231	3149		341	11262B			
	233	5155						
	233	5030		233	5121		ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT	
	242	5222					ATTN:	
	231	3823		245	7240		CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS	
	231	3042		244	6236		CORRESPONDENCE UNIT	
	233	5078		244	6437		INFORMATION DESK	
	233	5078		152	1B327		MAIL ROOM	
	233	5155		233	5171		NIGHT DUTY DESK	
	233	5131		244	6248		READING ROOM	
	114	4371		225	4654		SERVICE UNIT	
	114	4383		244	6247		TELETYPE ROOM	
				153	1262		VOUCHER UNIT	
	233	5131						
	114	4371			111	4336		RECORDS BRANCH
	233	5131						OPEN FILE
	114	4371						SEARCH, REVIEW & RETURN
	233	5131						WITH BUFILE
	233	5131					Re: TOWER	
	114	4371						
	114	4383						
	114	4383						
	233	5131						

reper over telcal, the
anonymous caller of 12-16-88
mentioned the following
① [redacted] former
military officer who was charged
5 tower (allegedly) - now
with [redacted] consulting firm
② [redacted]
③ [redacted] w/ [redacted]
(formerly w/ [redacted]) and with
[redacted]

Please interview
67

ADVISE AGENTS/PERSONNEL

<input type="checkbox"/> Call Me	<input type="checkbox"/> For Your Info.
<input type="checkbox"/> See Me	<input type="checkbox"/> Note & Return
<input type="checkbox"/> Approp. Action	<input type="checkbox"/> Record & Return
<input type="checkbox"/> Initial	<input type="checkbox"/> See Reverse Side
<input type="checkbox"/> Per Inquiry	

FROM *del* [redacted] ENQUIRY SECTION
CIVIL RIGHTS CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Remarks: Goldwater Foundation
③ [redacted] w/ [redacted]
(formerly w/ [redacted]) and with
[redacted]
Room [redacted] 12-19
(845-9453) FBI/DOJ
who drank & travelling

File
treat as original

6/ pm

DATE: 05-31-2011

CLASSIFIED BY 60322 UC/LP/PJ/KM

~~SECRET~~

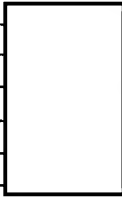
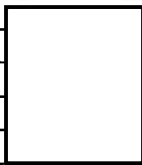

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
REASON: 1.4 (c) WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DECLASSIFIED BY 1087 05-31-2036

PER OGA LETTER 5/23/2011

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
INTERNAL ROUTING/ACTION SLIP

TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE	TO	TL#	ROOM	NAME/TITLE
	214	7176	Director		245	7452	
	235	7142	Exec. AD-Adm.		245	7452	
	235	7116	Exec. AD-Inv.		245	7452	
	235	7110	Exec. AD-LES		245	7452	
	214	7176	Director's Sec'y		245	7452	
	235	7116	EAD-Inv. Sec'y		245	7452	
	234	6012	Adm. Serv.		212	6888	ASD Vouchers
	233	5012	Crim. Inv.		212	6646	ASD Applicants
	341	11255	Ident.		243	5222	CID Terr. Sec. Chief
	213	7125	Inspection		242	4266	CID TRAC
	232	4026	Intell.		242	4250	CID Counter Terr. Plan.
	241	3090	Laboratory		243	5200	CID Dom. Terrorism
	245	7427	Legal Counsel		242	4252	CID I.T. Global
	235	7116	Off. Cong. & Public Affs.		242	4445	CID I.T. Mid. East
	211	5829	Records Mgmt.		233	5155	CID CR/SI Sec. Chief
	213	7159	Tech. Servs.		231	3012	CID Drug
	152	Academy	Training		233	5030	CID Gen. Crim.
	245	7443			231	3028	CID OC
	245	7443			254	4382	CID SPIN
	245	7452			231	3823	CID WCC
	245	7458			341	11267	Ident. Exp. Serv.
	245	7446			242	4204	INTD CI-1
	245	7449	OLIA Admin. Unit		232	4042	INTD CI-2
	245	7443			232	4825	INTD CI-3
	245	7443			243	5224	RMD Ex. Agencies
	245	7443			243	5266	RMD Sec. Prog.
	245	7452					
	245	7446			152	1B327	Mail Room
	245	7458		135	6912C	Personnel Records	
				111	4336	Records Branch	
				244	6247	Teletype Unit	

☐ Call Me☐ See Me☐ Approp. Action☐ Initial☐ Per In☐ For Your Info.☐ Note & Return☐ Record & Return☒ See Reverse Side

Remarks:

See reverse

FROM

DOMES
OFFICE

AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Room

7452

TL#

245

Phone

Date

12/15/88

FBI DOJ

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b1

(S)

back of page

6/PM

file

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION*Memorandum*TO : Director, FBI ([redacted])
(ATTN: [redacted]) SPIN UNIT, ROOM 4371

DATE: 12/8/88

b6
b7c

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (161A-R-348)

SUBJECT: JOHN GOODWIN TOWER
SPIN (A)

Re BuAirtel to WMFO, 12/3/88.

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: 12/9/88

Reason for the delinquency: Military record not located to date at FRC-M,
St. Louis, Missouri.

Date [] airtel [x] report [] letter [] LHM will reach the Bureau: When located.

[] No administrative action necessary.

1-BUREAU
1-ST. LOUIS
JLS
(2)

FBI/DOJ

*File
6/10/88*

Routing Slip

0-7 (Rev. 10-9-84)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC,

TO: LEGAT,

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
☐ Alexandria
☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
☐ Butte
☐ Charlotte
☐ Chicago
☐ Cincinnati
☐ Cleveland
☐ Columbia
☐ Dallas
☐ Denver
☐ Detroit
☐ El Paso
☐ Honolulu
☐ ASAC, Brooklyn-Queens (MRA)

☐ Houston
☐ Indianapolis
☐ Jackson
☐ Jacksonville
☐ Kansas City
☐ Knoxville
☐ Las Vegas
☐ Little Rock
☐ Los Angeles
☐ Louisville
☐ Memphis
☐ Miami
☐ Milwaukee
☐ Minneapolis
☐ Mobile
☐ Newark
☐ New Haven
☐ New Orleans
☐ New York City
☐ Norfolk

☐ Oklahoma City
☐ Omaha
☐ Philadelphia
☐ Phoenix
☐ Pittsburgh
☐ Portland
☐ Richmond
☐ Sacramento
☐ St. Louis
☐ Salt Lake City
☐ San Antonio
☐ San Diego
☐ San Francisco
☐ San Juan
☐ Savannah
☐ Seattle
☐ Springfield
☐ Tampa
☒ Washington Field
☐ Quantico

☐ Bern
☐ Bogota
☐ Bonn
☐ Canberra
☐ Hong Kong
☐ London
☐ Mexico City
☐ Montevideo
☐ Ottawa
☐ Panama City
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

RE: John Goodwin Tower

Reference Butelcall from [redacted] to
SSA [redacted] 11/29/88

Date

b6
b7c

- Retention For appropriate
☐ For information ☐ optional ☒ action ☐ Surep, by _____
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources,
☐ paraphrase contents.
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____
dated _____

Remarks: WMFO is instructed to:

- 1) Contact ACDA and obtain a copy of the investigation conducted by [redacted] ACDA
- 2) Obtain DOS cables alleging Tower involved in extra-marital activities in Geneva, Switzerland
- 3) Obtain copy of investigation conducted by Counterintelligence Diplomatic Security DOS

-Please forward to SPIN Unit, Room 4371.

Enc.

Bufile 161-20403

Urfile 161A-19411

6/pmm
FBI/DOJ

file

1/25/88)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b6
b7c

12/6, 1988

Director, 7176, #214 [redacted] 7222, #245
[redacted] 7222, #245

Mr. Glover, 7142, #235
Mr. Otto, 7110, #235
Mr. Revell, 7116, #235 [redacted] 7222, #245
[redacted] 7222, #245

Office of Congressional and
Public Affairs, 7222, #245 [redacted] 6212, #244
Office of Liaison and Inter-
national Affairs, 7443, #245 [redacted] 6212, #244

DIVISIONS:

Identification, 11255, #341 [redacted] 350, #213
Training, Quantico, #152 [redacted] 659, #213
Administrative Services, 6012, #234 [redacted] 278, #245
Records Management, 5829, #211 [redacted] M-956, #154
Intelligence, 4026, #232 [redacted] 6236, #244
Criminal Investigative, 5012, #233 [redacted] 7150, #213
Laboratory, 3090, #241 [redacted] 7861, #213
Technical Services, 7159, #213 [redacted] M-268, #154
Legal Counsel, 7427, #245 [redacted] M-469, #154
Inspection, 7125, #213

[redacted] 7176, #214 [redacted] 7240, #245
Telephone Room, 7176, #214 [redacted] 7240, #245

Information Desk, 6437, #244 [redacted] 7240, #245
Mail Room, 1B327, #152 [redacted] 7240, #245

Payroll, 1907, #153 [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Personnel Records, 6912, #135 [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Photo Processing Unit, 1B903, #151 [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Reading Room, 6248, #244 [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Tour Office, M-956, #154 [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Voucher Unit, 1262, #153 [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152

Reading Room, 6248, #244 (Autopen) [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Leave Clerk, 6226, #244 [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152

Per Call [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Please See Me [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152
Please Call Me [redacted] UCR-GRB, #152

For Appropriate Action [redacted]
For Your Information [redacted]
Note and Return [redacted]

Room SPINL #

CAO

X 4510

RE: JOHN G. TOWER

SENATE

STROM THURMOND ✓ (R - S.C.) → being done already

LLOYD BENTSEN (R - TEXAS)

ALAN DIXON (D - ILL)

JEFF BINGAMAN ✓ (D - N.M.) will do

JOHN GLENN ✓ (D - OHIO) → being done already

DANIEL INOUE (D - HAWAII)

JAKE GARN (R - UTAH)

RED STEVENS (R - ALASKA)

Rep. Nicholas
Mawby (V) routes
(NEXIS)

HOUSE

LES ASPIN ✓ (D - N.H.) → will do

MARVIN LEATH (D - TEXAS)

CHARLIE WILSON ✓ (D - TEXAS) → will do

JOHN MURTHA (D - PA)

GROUPS

COMMON CAUSE

✓

HERITAGE FOUNDATION
— ED FULLNER (sp?)

✓

AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

✓

75304

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE DALLAS	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 1/3/89	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/27 - 29/88
TITLE OF CASE JOHN GOODWIN-TOWER		REPORT MADE BY SA 	TYPED BY: b6 syw b7c
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPIN	

BUDED: PAST

REFERENCE: Bureau telcalls and teletypes to Dallas, 12/27 - 28/88.
Dallas facsimiles to Bureau, 12/28 - 29/88.

-RUC-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Persons interviewed apprised of Privacy Act.

Results of Dallas Indices checks previously reported.

This report contains results of leads set for Dallas after expiration of Bureau's deadline in this matter.

APPROVED BRG SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE COPIES MADE: 3 - Bureau (161-20403) ATTN: SPIN UNIT, ROOM 4371, FBIHQ 1 - Dallas (161A-2025)	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW <div style="font-size: 2em; font-family: cursive; margin: 10px 0;">161-70403-25</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px 0;"> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; margin-bottom: 2px;"></div> <div style="text-align: center;">APR 20 1989</div> </div>																									
CC DESTROYED UP	DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <th style="width: 15%;">Agency</th> <th style="width: 15%;">Request Recd.</th> <th style="width: 15%;">Date Fwd.</th> <th style="width: 15%;">How Fwd.</th> <th style="width: 15%;">By</th> </tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>	Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By																				
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By																						

6/PM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Copy to:

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office: DALLAS, TEXAS

b6

Date:

1/3/89

b7C

Field Office File #:

DL 161A-2025

Bureau File #:

Title:

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

Information re involvement of appointee's ex-wife, LILLA CUMMINGS, in oil investment furnished by individual in Wichita Falls, Texas and by appointee's attorney, Dallas, Texas. [REDACTED] has no knowledge of appointee ever having given her a gift paid for by campaign funds. Information re expenses paid from raised funds furnished by Executive Director, TOWER AND ASSOCIATES, Dallas, Texas.

-RUC-

DETAILS:

1
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

12/28/88

Date of transcription

b6
b7c

[redacted]
[redacted] furnished the following information:

During the period of 1983 through the end of 1987 certain funds were dispersed from the TOWER SENATE CLUB (TSC) account to the JOHN G. TOWER SPECIAL, which was a revolving account to cover the various expenses.

She advised that when the Senator or other members of his staff incurred expenses which were either paid for at the time or were billed to the office, and these expenses appeared to be within the realm of expenses from which the funds from the TSC could be used to pay, a request was noted on that particular expense by the Senator or whoever incurred it.

[redacted]
[redacted] with thereafter issue a check from the TSC to the JOHN G. TOWER SPECIAL.

She stated that if the Senator [redacted] felt that the expense was not legitimate, any of them could veto the expenditure. If this happened, the TSC was reimbursed by the JOHN G. TOWER SPECIAL account. She noted that Senator TOWER had the authority to sign checks on the JOHN G. TOWER SPECIAL account, however he did not have any of the checks. She stated that, due to the above, she is unable to recall any occasion when Senator TOWER wrote a check on the account.

She also noted [redacted] a file, [redacted] in which the receipts for the expenses incurred during that year through the JOHN G. TOWER SPECIAL are contained. She stated that bills or receipts for the years 1983 - 1984 are still in the possession of [redacted]

She noted that examples of the expenses would be airplane tickets used on official business and such.

Investigation on 12/27/88 at Dallas, Texas File # BU 161-20403
DL 161A-2025

by SA [redacted] mes Date dictated 12/27/88

DL 161A-2025

b6
b7cContinuation of FD-302 of , On 12/28/88, Page 2

She stated JOHN TOWER does not have an interest in the "Wichita Pot," and she does not know anything about TOWER receiving ownership of CUMMINGS share in the "Wichita Pot" as all paperwork still has CUMMINGS' name as a percentage owner. TOWER's involvement was being a friend with whom CUMMINGS invested her money and without TOWER's friendship CUMMINGS would not have had the opportunity to invest. She does not believe induced anyone to invest in an oil deal. She does not know if TOWER encouraged CUMMINGS to invest or not. She added the "Wichita Pot" oil deal no longer exists and the other investor's names would have to be obtained through the division order maintained by the operator.

She would recommend TOWER for Secretary of Defense and described TOWER as an individual of excellent character, reputation, and integrity, indicated TOWER to associate only with reputable individuals, and indicate she has no reason to question TOWER's loyalty to his country. She feels TOWER has the ability to successfully perform the duties of Secretary of Defense because of his experience obtained from serving in the U. S. Senate. She has no knowledge of drug use or alcohol abuse on the part of TOWER or any knowledge that TOWER has any difficulty living within his financial means.

1
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/29/88b6
b7c

[redacted] advised as follows:

He, as has previously been reported, is a [redacted] of the appointee, JOHN G. TOWER, as well as being the appointee's [redacted]. As such, he has some recollection of events involving the appointee's former wife, LILLA CUMMINGS, having invested in some oil properties known as the Wichita Pot.

He stated that he seemed to recall that LILLA CUMMINGS had invested in some oil properties through some friends and associates of the appointee. When the pay out was not as great as anticipated, she became quite upset and [redacted] over this investment. In order to avoid [redacted] the appointee agreed to reimburse LILLA CUMMINGS for her expenses in this matter. He seemed to recall that the total bill presented by CUMMINGS was about \$25,000.

He stated that CUMMINGS apparently never gave the assignment of the properties to the appointee, or made this known to the investment company [redacted] OIL COMPANY.

He stated that he might be able to locate a letter in his files which summarized his knowledge of these matters.

Later, [redacted] furnished the following two page letter and attachment to the Dallas FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION office via facsimile, which reads as follows:

Investigation on 12/29/88 at Dallas, Texas File # DL 161A-2025

by SA [redacted] mes Date dictated 12/29/88

1
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b6
b7C

12/29/88

Date of transcription _____

[redacted] residence [redacted]
furnished the following information:

She has no knowledge that JOHN G. TOWER, the appointee, has ever given her any sort of a gift which was paid for from campaign funds.

She stated that he does not tell her what he pays for gifts given to her, nor does she inquire as to the amount.

She further advised that he does not tell her, nor does she inquire as to the source of funds he uses to buy her gifts.

She stated however that from her personal knowledge of the appointee he would never do anything which would be questionable, and would certainly never utilize campaign funds to purchase gifts for herself or anyone else.

She stated that as an example of some of the gifts he has given her, [redacted]
[redacted]

She stated that she would estimate that this gift probably cost about \$25 inasmuch as she has since that time purchased another similar dish for her own use.

She stated that on [redacted]
[redacted]

She noted that as stated above she certainly does not feel that the appointee would ever have utilized any campaign funds to purchase any gifts for her.

Investigation on 12/29/88 at Dallas, Texas File # DL 161A-2025
by SA [redacted] /mes Date dictated 12/29/88

06201

1 2

1/5/89

UNCLAS

IMMEDIATE

FILED
FOR
REC

FM DIRECTOR FBI (161-20403)

TO FBI KANSAS CITY (WITCHITA R.A.) IMMEDIATE

BT

UNCLAS

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER; SPIN (A); BUDED: PAST

RE TEL CALL ON 1-5-88 FROM SSA [REDACTED] TO SA [REDACTED] b6 b7C

WITCHITA R.A.

WMFO T-5 HAD RELATED THAT HE WAS TOLD THAT [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ALLEGEDLY CALLED SENATOR TOWER [REDACTED] [REDACTED] DURING 1981 REGARDING AN FBI INVESTIGATION OF MELVIN PAISLEY, WHO HAD BEEN NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT FOR THE POSITION OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY. [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ARE SAID TO HAVE REQUESTED TOWER [REDACTED] NOT TO SURFACE ANY DEROGATORY INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE (SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE), THUS ELIMINATING ANY PROBLEM CAUSED BY REVELATION OF THE SUPPOSED DEROGATORY INFORMATION.

FILED

RJD/KLD/KLD 1/5/89

4371

RETURN TO [REDACTED] ROOM 4371

7 APR 26 1989

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

00374/8

6/1 pm

2

AT THE TIME OF THE ABOVE NOMINATION HEARINGS, 1981, [REDACTED]
WAS EMPLOYED AT [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WAS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] EMPLOYMENT AT
THAT TIME IS UNCERTAIN. [REDACTED] IS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] PRESENTLY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WILL BE INTERVIEWED BY WMFO ON JANUARY 5,
1989. [REDACTED] IS EMPLOYED BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] UNKNOWN CAPACITY.

DURING INTERVIEW OF [REDACTED] KANSAS CITY IS REQUESTED
RESPECTIVELY TO DETERMINE THE FOLLOWING: 1) DID EITHER [REDACTED]
OR [REDACTED] ADVISE TOWER [REDACTED] OF ANY DEROGATORY INFORMATION
CONCERNING PAISLEY? 2) DID EITHER ONE REQUEST THAT TOWER [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] NOT ADVISE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF DEROGATORY
INFORMATION REGARDING PAISLEY AS MIGHT BE CONTAINED IN THE
REPORT.

KANSAS CITY IS REQUESTED TO COVER LEAD IMMEDIATELY AND
TELEPHONICALLY ADVISE SSA [REDACTED] OF RESULTS
UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW.

BT

1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VZCZCLQND089

PPS:AD

DE-SEN #0089 0051440

ZNY: CCCCC

P 051545Z JAN 89

FM LEGAT LONDON (163E-213) (RLD)

TO DIRECTOR FBI/PRIORITY/

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CITE: //5200//

PASS: HQ TO [REDACTED]

b6 per FBI
b7C

SUBJECT: JOHN GOODWIN TOWER; SPIN (A); BUDED; PAST.

Referral/Consult

CC DESTROYED

7 APR 26 1989

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 3, 1989

ROUTING SLIP

TO: WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN FIELD OFFICE b6 per FBI
ATTN: SSA [redacted] b7C

WMFO FILE :161-19411

SUBJECT: JOHN GOODWIN TOWER
SPIN A
BUDED: PAST 12/9/88

b6 per FBI
b7C

Reference 1/3/89 telcall of PSS [redacted] to SSA [redacted]

Please provide the following information or take the
following action on captioned matter. Referral/Consult

During an interview of [redacted]
[redacted]

WMFO is requested to interview [redacted] as soon as
possible concerning their knowledge of Senator Tower.

b6 per FBI
b7C

Please provide the above to me by Thursday, January 5, 1989.

Analyst [redacted] ext. [redacted] is handling this case in the SPIN
Unit.

b6 per FBI
b7C

(61-20103-28)

7 APR 26 1989

file 4/26/89

Memorandum



To :

DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTENTION: [redacted] ROOM: 4371)

Date 1/4/89

From :

SAC, WMFO (161A-19411)

(P)

b6
b7C

Subject :

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER

SPIN (A)

BUDED: PAST

RE: PSS [redacted] telcall to PSS [redacted]
on 1/4/89

Attached is a copy of the interview of [redacted]
originally provided to FBIHQ via routing slip dated
12/22/88.

① - FBIHQ
1 - WMFO

161-70403-29

7 APR 26 1989

1- ENCLOSURE

file 4/26/89

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

12/22/88

Date of transcription

1b6
b7c

[redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and of the fact that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is currently conducting a background investigation concerning former Senator JOHN TOWER.

[redacted] advised that he formerly worked as a [redacted] in the [redacted]. He was assigned from [redacted] to [redacted] as head of the [redacted]. When he left that position during [redacted] of [redacted] he went to work [redacted]. As a result, he has known former Senator JOHN TOWER and had professional and personal contact with him until about one year ago. [redacted] described the appointee's professional ability and reputation by noting that TOWER is a very able and capable legislator and professional. He has been extraordinarily effective in the field of foreign policy and is one of the most knowledgeable individuals in that field on Capitol Hill. He dealt extremely well and effectively with foreign dignitaries and officials in [redacted] opinion. The appointee has an extensive knowledge of both the details and the overall strategic implications of various weapons systems and programs. This, combined with his extraordinary recall of fact and figures, make him quite an effective spokesman for a position with the Federal government.

[redacted] noted that [redacted] with Senator TOWER over many years on both foreign and domestic trips. He found the appointee to be a very easy going, pleasant and delightful person to be with. He has "a remarkable sense of humor". In addition, [redacted] noted the fact that the appointee, who was formerly employed as a college professor, is a historian and is very knowledgeable about history.

Based upon his personal observations of TOWER over those many years both here in Washington and on trips, [redacted] said that he has never seen the appointee under the influence of alcohol. The appointee generally drinks a particular brand of white Italian wine. His consumption of this wine is in moderate

Investigation on 12/21/88 at Washington, D. C. File # WMFO 161A-19411
by SA [redacted] :bw Date dictated 12/21/88

161-20403-29
ENCLOSURE

WMFO 161A-19411

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 12/22/88, Page 2

quantities. On only one occasion does [] recall ever seeing the appointee drink liquor. He repeated that he has never seen the appointee's consumption of alcohol affect him or his judgment. [] has never seen the appointee using illegal drugs and has never known him to abuse prescription drugs. He considers the appointee to financially stable and responsible.

In speaking of the appointee's loyalty, [] stated that he considers TOWER "an absolute patriot". And stated that he is certain beyond any doubt that the appointee is a loyal American. [] has dealt with TOWER in connection with very sensitive information over many years and has always known him to be "extraordinarily discreet". He has never seen any indication of prejudice on the appointee's part and noted that TOWER's staff is composed of individuals of many races and both sexes. [] advised that he would absolutely recommend the appointee without any question for a position of confidence and trust.

[] was advised that there had been many allegations made concerning the appointee in the media. He stated that he has traveled extensively with the appointee and generally stayed with TOWER all day long and on into the night in connection with official functions. [] stated that he was well aware of the appointee's location and activities at all times because it was necessary for Mrs. TOWER to be able to reach Senator TOWER at any time. He recalled that Senator TOWER had to be available by phone to Mrs. TOWER whenever she wanted to call. He stated that he never saw any indication of sexual indiscretions on the part of the appointee. He advised that he has never known the appointee to divulge classified information or to show any mental incapacity. However, [] advised that he is unable to comment concerning potential conflicts of interest, illegal campaign contributions or spending, or illegal banking or financial dealing on the part of the appointee.

[] was asked to speak about any knowledge he might have concerning the appointee's dealing with the C-FIN Program. [] advised that he is not familiar with the C-FIN Program and asked for a further description. He was advised that this is an Air Force program involving aircraft which have electronic capabilities. [] continued to advise that he does not recall the C-FIN Program and does not recall any other name by which this could have been known. As a result, he is unable to speak about the appointee's relationship with this program.

155-2
155-2
155-2

D BD/pm

161-2103-30

7 APR 26 1989

1- ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

file
4/pm

Just as Ogs.



161-20103-31

ENCLOSURE

Memorandum



To:

DIRECTOR, FBI [redacted]
(ATTENTION: [redacted] ROOM: 4371)

Date 1/5/89

b6
b7C

From:

SAC, WMFO (161A-19411) (P)

Subject:

JOHN GOODWIN-TOWER

SPIN (A)

BUDED: PAST

RE: WMFO memorandum dated 1/4/89.

add ✓ It should be noted that contact with Senator JOHN W. WARNER's office was made on 1/5/89. [redacted] Administrative Assistant, advised that Senator Warner is unavailable for an interview. However, she would maintain contact with the interviewing agent and notify her upon the Senator becoming available for this interview.

Enclosed for FBIHQ is one copy each of the following:

1. FD-302 of interview of WMF-T 8.
2. Administrative insert identifying WMF-T 8.
- ✓ 3. FD-302 for interview of [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

3-ENCLOSURE

- ① - FBIHQ
1 - WMFO 161A-19411

161-20403-32

7 APR 26 1989

file 4/26/89

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/3/88

Date of transcription

1

The following information was provided by a person here referred to as WFT-8, who requested that his identity remain confidential and not be disclosed outside the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). For convenience, the source may be referred to as "he" when appropriate. No inference regarding the sex of the source may be made from this usage.

WFT-8 was advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and that he was being interviewed regarding information provided to the FBI during the background clearance investigation of JOHN GOODWIN TOWER. WFT-8 voluntarily provided the investigating agent information regarding his knowledge of TOWER'S involvement with MELVIN PAISLEY and information that [redacted] provided to Senator SAM NUNN'S office concerning PAISLEY'S nomination hearing in 1981.

b6
b7C

WFT-8 advised [redacted] when PAISLEY received his nomination hearing. He has no personal knowledge of PAISLEY'S relationship with TOWER.

b6
b7C
b7D

WFT-8 stated he has no personal knowledge of TOWER'S [redacted] involvement in not surfacing derogatory information against PAISLEY during PAISLEY'S nomination hearing. WFT-8 received all of the information regarding [redacted] during a [redacted] attended by [redacted] and [redacted].

[redacted]
nomination hearings of PAISLEY. It was reported that in the telephone call, they requested that TOWER [redacted] not surface derogatory information that had been uncovered by the FBI during a routine background investigation of PAISLEY.

WFT-8 could provide no further information regarding this event and added he has never personally spoken with [redacted] regarding this information.

b6
b7C

Investigation on 1/4/89 at Washington, D.C. File # WMFO 161A-19411

by SA [redacted] *amb* anc Date dictated 1/4/89

.161-19411
RPC/rpc

ADMINISTRATIVE

WFT-8 is identified as [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] who does not wish that
[REDACTED] identity be revealed outside the FEDERAL BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION.

b6
b7C
b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date of transcription 12/30/88 b6
b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and of the fact that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is currently conducting a background investigation concerning former Senator JOHN G. TOWER. [redacted] was also advised of the fact that an allegation had been made that TOWER was not completely honest in his work as head of the Tower Commission since he did not mention an incident which is said to have occurred during 1980. According to this allegation, Senator TOWER was contacted by a representative of Iran's AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI who was seeking replacement parts for his American aircraft. Senator TOWER is said to have sent a member of his staff, [redacted] to the REAGAN-BUSH administration to see if there was interest in making a deal. [redacted] was finally advised that the FBI understands that [redacted] at which this matter was discussed. [redacted] was asked for details of this meeting and any details he might have concerning JOHN TOWER'S involvement.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Investigation on 12/30/88 at Washington, D.C. File # WMFO 161A-19411

by SA [redacted] :anc Date dictated 1/3/89

FINAL
EDITION

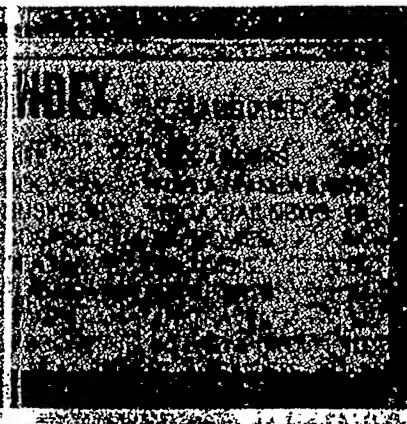
BONNY AND MILD. HIGHS IN
THE LOW 80s. LOWS NEAR
60. DETAILS, 2A.



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TROPIC MAGAZINE

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The Miami Herald

442 PAGES

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SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 1987

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75 CENTS

Reagan aides, in 1980, held hostage talks

Advisers met figure claiming to represent Iran, but deny making deals

By ALFONSO CHARDY
Herald Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A month before Ronald Reagan trounced Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election, two high-ranking Reagan campaign aides conferred secretly with a man who said he represented the Iranian government and offered to release to Reagan the 52 American hostages held in Tehran.

The two aides, Richard Allen and Laurence Silberman, said Robert McFarlane, then a Senate aide and Reagan supporter, arranged and attended the meeting at a Washington hotel. Allen and Silberman, then top foreign policy advisers to Reagan, said the objective of the offer from the purported Iranian was to ensure Carter's defeat.

Allen and Silberman said in separate telephone

interviews last week that they considered the offer absurd and rejected it, telling the emissary that he had to deal with Carter as the sitting president.

McFarlane declined to be interviewed, but in a written response to questions he said: "An individual claiming to be Iranian approached me and was referred to the Reagan campaign staff. He was judged to be a fraud and dismissed."

But Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Iranian president at the time, said he learned after the hostage release that two of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's closest advisers had been involved in negotiations with the Reagan camp. The negotiations were to delay release of the hostages until after Reagan became president, he said in a series of telephone interviews from exile.

Please turn to IRAN / 26A

CHRONOLOGY OF IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS



Reagan



Carter

NOV. 4, 1979: Iranian demonstrators storm U.S. Embassy in Tehran, taking 65 hostages.
APRIL 7, 1980: Carter reveals discovery of oil reserves with Iraq.
APRIL 24: Mission to rescue hostages is aborted in Iran.
SEPT. 22: Disputes between Iran, Iraq erupt into war.
EARLY OCTOBER: Reagan aides meet with man who claims to represent Iran and who offers possible release of hostages to Reagan.
NOV. 4: Reagan defeats Carter in U.S. election.
JAN. 20, 1981: Reagan inaugurated as president.
FEBRUARY-MARCH: Israel negotiates release of hostages to Iran.

Conference is linked to election

IRAN / from LA

in France.

The former president identified the two as Hashemi Rafsanjani and Mohammed Beheshti.

He said neither man denied the information when he asked them about it. "They laughed," he said. "They didn't say no."

Rafsanjani, then Iran's interior minister and now speaker of the Iranian Parliament, has been linked to the Iran-contra scandal as one of the "moderate elements" the Reagan administration sought to contact.

Rafsanjani was the first Iranian official to confirm publicly last November that the Reagan administration had sold weapons to Iran in 1986.

Beheshti was killed in a bomb explosion in Tehran in 1981.

Bani-Sadr said that ultimately Rafsanjani and Beheshti coordinated the release of the hostages with Reagan aides in Washington to coincide precisely with Reagan's inauguration Jan. 20, 1981.

In addition, Bani-Sadr said that several months after the hostages were freed he received a military report saying that after taking office, the Reagan administration had given assurances to Tehran that Iran would receive U.S. military equipment. Bani-Sadr said the assurances were not linked to the release of the hostages.

It has been widely reported since the November disclosure of the Iran arms affair that Israel began shipping American-made weapons to Iran within a month of Reagan's January 1981 inauguration.

Played major role

McFarlane, who was President Reagan's national security adviser

THE KEY PLAYERS



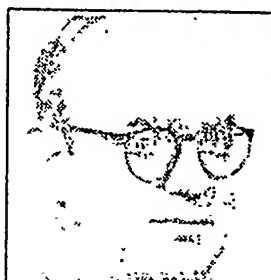
Robert McFarlane

In 1980, assistant to Sen. John Tower, chairman of Armed Services Committee. In 1981, became aide to Secretary of State George Shultz. In 1983, became Reagan's national security adviser, remaining until early 1986. Last May, headed a secret mission to Tehran, accompanying some of the weapons United States had sold to Iran.



Richard Allen

Chief foreign policy adviser to Ronald Reagan's 1980 election campaign. Reagan's first national security adviser until he resigned from National Security Council over a minor scandal involving influence-peddling.



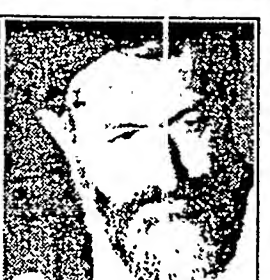
Laurence Silberman

Former ambassador to Yugoslavia. Served Reagan 1980 election campaign as co-chairman, with Richard Allen, of the candidate's foreign policy group. After Reagan's election, became assistant to special Middle East envoy Donald Rumsfeld. Currently is judge on U.S. Court of Appeals.



Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

Widely regarded as second most powerful man in Iran after Khomeini. Interior minister early in the Khomeini regime. Later, speaker of Iranian parliament. First Iranian official to publicly confirm, in November, that Reagan administration had sold weapons to Iran.



Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti

Was member of ruling revolutionary council early in the Khomeini regime. Also secretary general of the Islamic Republican Party and, later, chief justice of Iranian supreme court. Killed in 1981 in explosion at Tehran offices of his party.

an, Egyptian, Tunisian or Moroccan.

"He might have been North African instead of Iranian," Silberman said. Neither he nor Allen could recall the man's name.

In his written responses, McFarlane said he had "no idea" who the man was.

Said Silberman: "All I can remember was that there was discussion about somehow releasing the hostages to the Reagan campaign or under the auspices of the Reagan campaign... to humiliate Carter and influence our [Reagan's] election."

"I said to him, 'We have one president at a time,' thus indicating that he should deal with Carter, not us."

Allen said the meeting "was ridiculous and went directly against the grain of what the Reagan campaign stood for or the best interests of the hostages. It

an Parliament approved the four points, thus raising the possibility of a hostage release before the polls opened.

"However," Carter wrote, "as the hours passed, no other news came out of Iran."

The hostages were not released and Reagan won the election by a landslide.

Bani-Sadr said last week from France that as negotiations with the lame-duck Carter administration to release the hostages resumed following the election, he anticipated their freedom before Reagan took office.

However, he said that he was not in full control of the negotia-

tions and that they were supervised directly by Khomeini through Rafsanjani and Beheshti.

Hostage freedom

On Jan. 20, 1981, as Reagan finished his inaugural address, the hostages were freed as part of a complex agreement that was not completed until the early hours of Jan. 19. A last-minute snag in the transfer of frozen Iranian financial assets was given as the reason for the delay.

However, Mansur Rafizadeh, a former top official of the late shah of Iran's Savak security police, said in his recently published book

Witness that after the Nov. 4, 1980, election, the CIA persuaded the Khomeini government through its foreign minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh not to release the hostages until Reagan was actually sworn in.

Ghotbzadeh stood trial in 1982 for his role in a coup plot against Khomeini. He was later executed.

CIA spokeswoman Sharon Foster called Rafizadeh's allegation of CIA involvement in the affair as "ridiculous and contemptuous."

Bani-Sadr said that while he does not know if the CIA was involved in the hostage release, he learned later that Rafsanjani and Beheshti had closely coordinated

with Reagan aides in Washington, the release of the hostages.

"I was quite astonished," Bani-Sadr said.

"I don't know precisely why the timing of the release was so important to the Reagan apparatus," Bani-Sadr said, "but it seems to me that his aides were trying to prepare the American public psychologically and symbolically for the era of Reaganism."

"Hogwash," said Allen, who recalled being the one who first advised Reagan of the hostage release by handing him the information on a piece of paper while Reagan was on the inaugural platform after his speech.

Bruce Laingen, one of the hostages and ex-charge d'affaires in Iran, said he recalled that airport guards in Tehran talked into their walkie-talkies frequently before allowing the aircraft to take off.

However, Laingen said he does not believe there was any coordination between Reagan and Iran on the release.

"Khomeini kept us there until Reagan was sworn in to show his contempt for Carter," said Laingen. "It was deliberate on his part. I cannot conceive, for one minute, that Reagan played a role in this."

President Reagan announced the release of the hostages at the end of a toast at a luncheon with congressional leaders after the inauguration ceremony. Reading from Allen's notes, Reagan said:

"And now to conclude the toast with thanks to almighty God, I have been given a tag line, the get-off line that everyone wants for the end of a toast, or a speech or anything else: Some 30 minutes ago the planes bearing our prisoners left Iranian airspace, and they're now free of Iran."

Herald Staff Writer Sandra Dible contributed to this article.

PROGRAM
MAY

the release of the hostages. It has been widely reported since the November disclosure of the Iran arms affair that Israel began shipping American-made weapons to Iran within a month of Reagan's January 1981 inauguration.

Played major role

McFarlane, who was President Reagan's national security adviser from 1983 to 1985, played a major role in the Iran arms deal, traveling to Tehran in May 1986 with National Security Council aide Oliver North, where they unsuccessfully sought a meeting with Rafsanjani. North was fired Nov. 25 for allegedly diverting profits of the Iranian arms sales to the Nicaraguan contras.

The arms sales to Iran last year provoked a major scandal in the United States. The Khomeini government held the hostages for 444 days, creating strong anti-Iranian sentiment among Americans. Carter aborted in progress an April 1980 rescue mission.

While there appears to be no connection between the 1986 arms sales and the 1980-1981 events surrounding the American hostages in Tehran, the involvement of McFarlane and Rafsanjani in both affairs could help explain the Reagan administration's intense interest last year in pursuing a strategic opening to Iran.

The White House and former President Carter declined comment.

Allen, who became Reagan's first national security adviser, said Khomeini retained the hostages of his own accord until Reagan became president as a symbolic last-minute insult to Carter and not because of a deal with the Reagan campaign.

"Absolute baloney," Allen said, referring to the possibility a deal was struck between the Reagan campaign and Iran on a coordinated release of the hostages. He also denied that the Reagan campaign people ever discussed any arms deals with Iran.

"There was no authorized contact, at any time, with any Iranians on such deals," Allen said. However, he said he could not speak for any "free-lancers" who might have invoked Reagan's name in discussions with the Iranians.

Hostility cited

"All we felt was a sense of unremitting hostility toward the Khomeini regime," said Allen, now a Washington consultant.

Nevertheless, he and Silberman, now a judge at the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, said that at McFarlane's behest they met for 20 to 30 minutes at L'Enfant Plaza Hotel sometime during the first two weeks of October 1980 with a man who allegedly represented the Khomeini regime.

Allen and Silberman said McFarlane, then an aide to the Senate Armed Services Committee under Chairman John Tower, R-Texas, also attended the meeting.

Allen, who then headed Reagan's foreign policy advisory group, and Silberman, who was its co-chairman, said they could not recall if the individual was Iranian.

ing the hostages to the Reagan campaign or under the auspices of the Reagan campaign... to humiliate Carter and influence our [Reagan's] election.

"I said to him, 'We have one president at a time,' thus indicating that he should deal with Carter, not us."

Allen said the meeting "was ridiculous and went directly against the grain of what the Reagan campaign stood for or the best interests of the hostages. It was something I simply dismissed."

Silberman and Allen said they ended the meeting and walked out without accepting the offer.

"It came to nothing," Silberman said.

Silberman said that while riding in a car immediately after the meeting, he advised Allen to write a memorandum about it "in the event that, someday, this might come out."

Memo misplaced

Allen said he wrote such a memo which he later misplaced and has been trying unsuccessfully to locate since the Iran scandal surfaced last fall.

Allen said he does not remember if he showed or provided a copy of the memo to Reagan or William Casey. At the time Casey was Reagan's campaign manager. He served as CIA director under Reagan until he resigned Feb. 2 after brain surgery for a tumor.

Allen said that neither Casey nor Reagan were aware of, or approved in advance, the meeting with McFarlane and the purported Iranian representative.

The CIA said it could not comment on actions by Casey as a private citizen.

No one in the Carter administration was advised of the meeting, Allen said.

A source familiar with the meeting said no one else was advised of the session because it was not clear what the implications might be or even who the alleged Iranian representative really was.

"I had authority to hold meetings like that without clearing them in advance with Reagan or Casey," Allen said. "I was in charge of the foreign policy advisory group."

Special panel

In his capacity as Reagan campaign foreign policy adviser, Allen had assembled a special 10-member panel that came to be known as the October Surprise Group. The name came from a belief by Reagan that Carter would try to win the election with an "October surprise" — a last-minute deal for release of the hostages before the Nov. 4 election.

Allen's group began holding daily meetings in early October 1980 on how to counter just such a possibility and preserve Reagan's lead in the polls.

In his book, *Keeping Faith*, Carter said that at the time his administration had been holding secret talks with an Iranian government representative, Sadeq Tabataba'i, over a four-point plan to release the hostages.

Carter said in his book that two days before the election the Iranian

the same-day Carter administration to release the hostages resumed following the election, he anticipated their freedom before Reagan took office.

However, he said that he was not in full control of the negotia-

transfer of frozen Iranian assets was given as the reason for the delay.

However, Mansur Rafiqi, former top official of the late of Iran's Savak security said in his recently published

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Los Angeles Times

Circulation: 1,136,813 Daily/1,421,711 Sunday

Tuesday, October 25, 1988

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1980 Deal Alleged

Leads, Leaps of Faith in Hostage Tale

By DOYLE McMANUS,
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—If this story turns out to be true, it would be the most diabolical intrigue of the century: a secret deal in 1980 between Ronald Reagan, George Bush and Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to keep 52 American hostages imprisoned in Tehran until that year's election day, thus sealing Reagan's march to the White House.

And that isn't all. Since the unproven allegations of a secret Reagan-Khomeini deal surfaced, a strange parade of gun-runners and global schemers has come forward to offer new and astonishing versions of the saga—including a charge that Bush, at a secret meeting with Iranian agents in Paris, agreed to pay Tehran \$40 million as part of the deal.

The story has even Jimmy Carter, the man who lost the presidency to Reagan in 1980, intrigued. "He'd like to know whether it's true," a spokesman said. Other devotees of the saga have formed grass-roots committees and staged small demonstrations in cities from Boston to Eureka, Calif., in attempts to get attention from mainstream media.

Sometimes-Wild Rumors

There are some serious problems with these charges. First, there isn't a shred of independently confirmed evidence to support them; the allegations rest on a morass of tantalizing leads, leaps of faith and sometimes-wild rumors. Second, some of the purported witnesses contradict each other over details, and several have made statements that are simply not credible. Third, of course, spokesmen for President Reagan and Vice President Bush hotly deny that any of the stories are true.

"It's absolutely false—a pure fabrication," Bush spokesman Steve Hart said.

But the denials have done little to stop the spread of rumors and tall tales about purported secret operations during the 1980 campaign. And beneath the tangle of allegations remains a set of intriguing circumstances—and a few knots of genuine mystery.

—Three men from the 1980 Reagan campaign, including later National Security Adviser Robert C. McFarlane, did meet with a self-described Iranian agent during the campaign to discuss the fate of the 52 U.S. hostages in Tehran; none of the three can recall the man's name or find their notes of the meeting.

Negotiations Cooled Off

—According to former Carter Administration officials, the Iranian government's interest in a negotiated settlement to the hostage crisis did seem to cool off at about the same time the hostages were not released, in fact, until Reagan's inauguration day.

—And senior officials in the new Reagan Administration did quietly authorize Israel to sell military equipment to Iran soon after, in the spring of 1981.

None of that, however, quite adds up to a convincing case that Reagan actually made a secret deal with Khomeini. And the Reagan

Please see PLOT, Page 18

Love Those Monday Morning Blues!



CON KEYES / Los Angeles Times



LARRY BUSSEL / Los Angeles Times

Pitcher Orel Hershiser, with teammate Ricky Horton's wife Ann, holds up World Series trophy at victory parade for Dodgers.

The Times Poll

Bush 11 Points Ahead in State; Economy Cited

By GEORGESKELTON,
Times Sacramento Bureau Chief

Republican George Bush is running 11 points ahead of Democrat Michael S. Dukakis in California, largely because voters are satisfied with the economy and agree with Bush's approach to controlling the budget deficit and fighting crime, the Los Angeles Times Poll has found.

With only two weeks remaining before the election, Dukakis clearly has failed to excite voters in a state virtually everybody agrees he must carry to win the presidency, the survey showed. Two in five of Dukakis' supporters say they are voting less "for" him than they are "against" Bush.

Link to Reagan Helps

Vice President Bush's ties to Ronald Reagan are a big help to the Republican ticket in the President's home state, California voters, by roughly 2 to 1, approve of the way Reagan is "handling his job as President." And people who approve of Reagan support Bush by nearly 6 to 1.

The Times survey found Bush/Quayle leading Dukakis/Bentsen among likely voters by 53% to 42%, with only 4% undecided and 1% supporting other candidates.

The Times poll, directed by I. A. Lewis, interviewed 1,376 Californians considered likely to vote on Nov. 8. The four-day telephone survey ended Sunday. The margin of error is 4 percentage points in either direction.

Please see POLL, Page 15

Bush Tax Plan a Boon to Bush, Dukakis Says

Republican, in Switch,
Rebuts Racist Charge

By JOHN HALZAR,
Times Political Writer

WATERBURY, Conn.—After months of forcing his opponent on the defensive, George Bush was pushed into that role Monday, compelled to say he is not spreading lies or stirring up racial friction. With just 15 days left in the long presidential campaign, Republican Bush finally seemed to feel the sting of Michael S. Dukakis' complaints and a new round of Democratic TV ads.

"Signs are showing in the opposition camp of desperation—using ads that accuse us of lying," Bush began his in-characteristic and unexpected statement here before launching into his speech to the Waterbury Chamber of Commerce.

He insisted that two longstanding themes of the GOP campaign—that Dukakis is weak on crime and national defense—are true, and are

Please see BUSH, Page 17

Democrat Striving for
a More Populist Tone

By DAVID LAUTER,
Times Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO—Michael S. Dukakis on Monday charged that his Republican opponent, Vice President George Bush, would personally have gained \$22,000 over the last three years from a capital gains tax break that Bush advocates.

"Look in the mirror and ask yourself, is George Bush on your side?" Dukakis demanded in speeches to supporters in Los Angeles, at a large nighttime rally in downtown San Diego and before a dragon parade in Chinatown here.

Bush, he said, "wants to give people like himself a tax break that's more than the average worker in California makes in a year."

"He's on their side; we're on your side."

The jibe at Bush's tax plan, which

Please see DUKAKIS, Page 17

70,000 Fans Join Dodgers in Last Laugh

By BOB BAKER
and PAUL FELDMAN,
Times Staff Writers

"Dance, Tommie, Dance," in the movie house marquee Broadway.

"Orel 4 Prez," shouted the blue scrawl on a bedsheet-banner displayed by a group of atop a City Hall bus shelter.

"A very pleasant day to Cloud 9," beamed the *Los Angeles Times*.

To that greeting, tens of thousands of Los Angeles Dodgers fans—some of whom had wince midnight to get the best of their heroes—roared in vindication Monday at a City rally, savoring a World Series victory that few expected team to win.

Triumph of the Underdog

As Manager Tom Lasorda's Dodger stars Orel Hershiser, Gibson and Mike Marshall leapt up Broadway to City Hall parade of floats amid a blizz of confetti, pennants, home signs and balloons, the con theme that ran between the ers and the fans was the triumph of the underdog.

"You believe it? Now, do rest of the world believe it?" Mayor Tom Bradley as the began.

"How sweet it is!" exulted Hershiser, the pitching star was voted the series' most val player.

Police said that more than 7 well-behaved fans flooded the ic Center, a veritable sea of and white.

They came in all sizes and at all hours of the night

Please see DODGERS, P

Weather Worsens as 'Beast' Is Readied to Rescue Whales

By LEE DYE, Times Science Writer

POINT BARROW, Alaska—The Archimedeon Screw Tractor, a \$650,000, 11-ton, one-of-a-kind mechanical beast, came out of six years of hibernation and plowed through ice 18 inches thick Monday as it prepared to join an extraordinary attempt to free two California gray whales trapped in Arctic ice.

Meanwhile, two Soviet icebreakers were ahead of schedule as they steamed across the Arctic toward this northernmost tip of the United States. The icebreakers—one of which is 445 feet long—were expected to arrive late Monday night and might be used to smash through a massive wall of ice.

PLOT: Leads, Leaps of Faith in Hostage Tale

Continued from Page 1

audes who were purportedly involved angrily dismiss the allegations as absurd.

"It's goofball stuff," said Richard V. Allen, who was Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser during the 1980 campaign. "It comes from Mars. . . It's nothing but a fascinating hodgepodge of lies."

Nevertheless, some otherwise sober people say they, too, are beginning to wonder whether something strange was going on in that other election campaign, eight years ago.

"There obviously is no smoking gun here," said Gary Sick, a former National Security Council official who worked on the 1980 hostage negotiations for Carter. "But there's an accumulating body of circumstantial evidence. . . I used to pooh-pooh these charges," Sick said. "I don't do that any more."

□

The story is called the "October Surprise." The name is taken from the fear that gripped the 1980 Reagan campaign that Carter would make a sudden deal with Iran to free the 52 Americans then held hostage in Tehran—and thus reverse Reagan's surge toward victory at the polls. Reagan's men organized an intelligence network to seek information about the Carter Administration's plans, and an "October Surprise Group," chaired by Allen, met to work out possible responses to a hostage release.

In September of 1980, Khomeini sent an envoy to West Germany to open hostage negotiations with U.S. officials. The chief of the American delegation was then Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, now a prominent Los Angeles lawyer.

"The first meetings were very promising," Christopher recalled in an interview. Christopher met with Khomeini's son-in-law, Sadegh Tabatabai, who presented a set of relatively moderate demands: a U.S. commitment to refrain from military intervention in Iran, unfreeze Iranian assets in the United States and aid in returning the wealth of the late shah to Tehran.

Christopher said Tabatabai also asked for the delivery of some \$350 million in weapons and other military equipment that the shah had bought but that remained in U.S. warehouses. "I discouraged it, and it never came back onto the table," Christopher said.

Invasion by Iraq

One week later, Iran was invaded by the army of neighboring Iraq. The war interrupted Tabatabai's negotiations with Christopher; not until Nov. 2 did Iran come back with a precise proposal for freeing the hostages—too late to prevent Carter from going down to defeat on Nov. 4.

"It is an interesting question why the promising meetings we had in September ended so abruptly," Christopher said. "The conversations were really quite encouraging, and it was a letdown when they did not continue. But I've always felt that the outbreak of the war seemed a sufficient explanation."

In the interim, Khomeini's government formally dropped its demand for weapons as part of the deal. That seemed strange to Gary Sick, the NSC's Iran expert at the time. "I thought it was amazing," he said last week. "They were at war, after all. One of the things they would definitely want, we thought, was the military equipment they already owned."

Christopher is less impressed by the apparent oddity. "The issue of the weapons stayed on the table only briefly," he said. "I think they were just testing us."

In any case, serious negotiations

over the hostages' release did not get started until after Reagan won the election, and the 52 Americans were not actually freed until a few minutes after the new President took office on Jan. 20, 1981.

Jimmy Carter had negotiated the hostages' release, but it was Ronald Reagan who welcomed them home.

□

Barbara Honegger and Abolhasan Bani-Sadr offer another answer to Christopher's question about the interruption of the hostage negotiations. Honegger, a former Reagan White House aide, and Bani-Sadr, who was president of Iran in 1980, charge that Reagan's aides deliberately sabotaged the talks—by offering Khomeini weapons if he would delay the Americans' release until after Election Day.

It is a monstrous accusation, as both Honegger and Bani-Sadr cheerfully admit.

"This may be the crime of the century," Honegger said in an interview earlier this month. "It may mean that Ronald Reagan stole the 1980 election."

Honegger served as a minor official in the White House and the Justice Department from 1981 until 1983, when she publicly accused Reagan of breaking his promise to promote women's rights and resigned. (She told a reporter at the time that she had been guided by insights which she described as "channeled information. . . as if it were from the future.")

Quest for Secret History

Honegger now lives in Pacific Grove, Calif., in a pink stucco house with a panoramic view of the ocean—and rooms jammed with books, papers and tape recordings to aid her quest for the secret history of the 1980 campaign.

During October, 1980, Honegger was working at Reagan-Bush campaign headquarters, and fear of a sudden move by Carter to free the hostages was running high. On the evening of Oct. 22, she recalled, a woman—she cannot remember whom—walked into the room she was in and announced: "We don't have to worry about an October Surprise—Dick cut a deal."

"To be fair, I don't know that she was talking about Dick Allen," Honegger added. "It could have been some other Dick. But Dick Allen was the only one who had anything to do with the October Surprise Group."

Honegger's conclusion: "I think Dick Allen made some kind of arrangement to delay the return of the hostages, probably in exchange for weapons after Reagan was elected."

Allen's response: "Ridiculous."

'No Messing With . . . Problem'

"This girl was nowhere in the policy loop," he said. "She couldn't possibly have known what was going on. In fact, exactly the opposite was our behavior. . . We had a rule: there was to be no messing with the hostage problem whatever."

But Honegger has turned into an indefatigable promoter of her story, appearing on radio and television shows and in a widely distributed documentary film about the affair called "Coverup," and living largely off lecture fees. She has also turned from a Reaganite Republican into a Jesse Jackson Democrat, "because of civil rights."

Honegger's chief ally in her crusade has been Bani-Sadr, the one-time president of Iran who lost power and fled his country in 1981.

Now living in exile near Paris, Bani-Sadr said he believes the release of the hostages was sabotaged by both the Reagan campaign and his own arch-rival in Tehran, Parliament Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani.

Please see PLOT, Page 19

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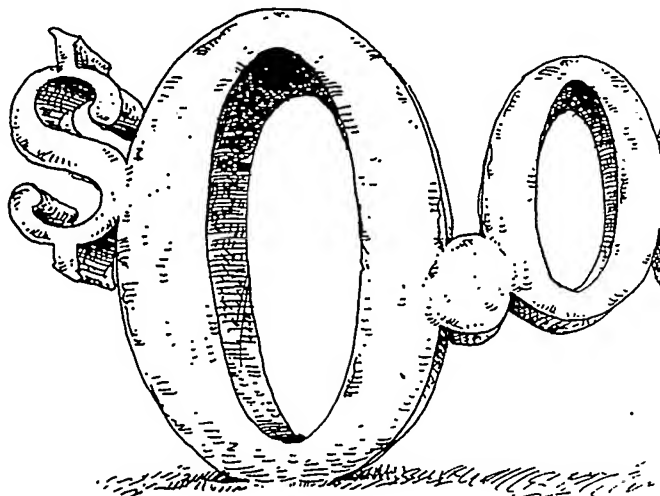
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PLOT: Intriguing Leads, Leaps of Faith in Hostage Tale

Continued from Page 1B

"It was an operation against Iran-Sadr," he said in a sitting room at his home in Versailles, a gloomy, unheated house overgrown with vines.

He claimed that he almost reached an agreement to release the hostages in October, 1980, but that Bani-Sadr "blockaded" his effort—because if Bani-Sadr solves the problem of the hostages then it is Bani-Sadr who wins the arms. . . . I would be the one who came out ahead."

Asked for more details, he referred to a thick typed report in English. It had been sent to him, he said, "by Madame Honegger, a political analyst."

Christopher and Sick, on the other hand, said Bani-Sadr was not involved in hostage talks at all in October, 1980. "Bani-Sadr had nothing to do with the negotiations," Sick said. "He was completely cut out of it."

Reagan's men have acknowledged that they did have one meeting with a purported Iranian emissary in the fall of 1980, but they insist that the contact was insignificant and led nowhere.

Some time in September, 1980, Robert C. McFarlane, then a member of the staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, was visited by a mysterious Middle Easterner.

"An individual whose name I don't even recall came to me saying that he represented people in the Iranian government, and saying he wanted to talk about U.S.-Iranian relations, to include the issue of the delivery of arms," McFarlane said in an interview.

McFarlane set up a meeting with Allen, the Reagan campaign's top foreign policy adviser. Allen brought Laurence H. Silberman, a former deputy U.S. attorney general who is now a federal appeals court judge.

"We met for no more than 15 minutes in the lobby of the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel [in Washington]," McFarlane recalled. "All of us concluded that he was a man of no substance. . . . He was rather ambiguous both as to whom he represented and what kind of proposition he wanted to make."

Proposed an Arrangement

Allen dimly remembered the mysterious intermediary as an Iranian monarchist who lived in Egypt. Unlike McFarlane, Allen said he does not believe the issue of weapons came up. "He was proposing an arrangement whereby the hostages could be released to the Reagan side [during the campaign] at a date indeterminate," Allen said. "Under no circumstances did we ever discuss a delay of the hostages' release."

Allen recalled telling the go-between, "This is preposterous."

Silberman recalled admonishing him: "We have only one President at a time."

All three Americans say they cannot remember the man's name. All three say they have no written record of what went on at the meeting; Allen said he wrote a memorandum for his files describing the conversation, but now cannot find it.

Nor did the three Republicans inform the Carter Administration of their contact with a purported go-between. "It didn't warrant referring to the Carter Administration," McFarlane said.

Warren Christopher disagrees. Notifying the State Department, he said, "certainly would have been the correct thing to do—especially

since we were briefing them [the Reagan campaign] during this period."

The strangest new wrinkle in the saga of the October Surprise has been added by Richard Brenneke, a self-described international arms broker from Portland, Ore.

Brenneke told a federal judge in sworn testimony last month that Bush, William J. Casey and Richard Allen flew secretly to Paris in October, 1980—in the final weeks of the presidential campaign—to meet with agents of Khomeini's regime.

Brenneke said he attended a meeting on Oct. 20, 1980, at which Casey and Donald P. Gregg, now Bush's national security adviser, arranged to give the Iranians \$40 million in exchange for their agreement to delay the release of the hostages until after Election Day.

"The logistics of transferring \$40 million for the purchase of weapons was worked out," Brenneke said in his testimony. "That was the figure that William Casey and Mr. Gregg discussed at the meeting as being available for the purchase of weapons."

Brenneke said he did not see Bush in Paris, but testified that he had learned that Bush had met there with Iranian officials on Oct. 19, 1980.

Testified at Hearing

Brenneke offered his testimony at a sentencing hearing in Denver in the case of Heinrich Rupp, a longtime friend who was convicted earlier this year of bank fraud. Brenneke told the judge that he believed Rupp had been acting on behalf of the CIA when he defrauded Colorado's Aurora Bank.

Rupp later told Denver's Rocky Mountain News that he was the pilot who flew Casey to Paris in October, 1980, and said he believes he saw Bush on the tarmac at Paris' Le Bourget Airport.

Neither Brenneke nor Rupp has offered any evidence to support their charges, however, and most of their allegations have been roundly denied.

Bush's office says he made no secret trip to Paris in October, 1980; the Secret Service, whose agents were guarding the then-vice-presidential candidate, says he was in Washington during the period in question.

Allen says he did not visit Paris in October and showed a reporter his detailed, handwritten logbooks for the days in question. (They show, among many other entries, that Allen appeared on the television program "Meet the Press" on Oct. 19, which NBC confirmed, and spoke on the telephone with Casey, apparently in Washington, on Oct. 20.)

Reports Discounted

Casey died in May, 1987, but Allen said: "There isn't any way this could have been done by Casey without me . . . as stealthily as he was to become."

Moreover, the credibility of Brenneke and Rupp has been questioned by some who have interviewed them at length.

Rupp's own lawyer, Daniel Burrah, said he doesn't know whether to believe his client or not. "I've never come across anything as crazy as this," he said. "As far as the truthfulness of the guy, I really don't know."

Most of Brenneke's statements have proven difficult or impossible to confirm. He claimed in his testimony to have worked for the

CIA for 18 years, much of that in Air America, the now-defunct airline the agency once owned. But the CIA, in a virtually unprecedented action, has told reporters that Brenneke never worked for the agency; and William Leary, a University of Georgia professor who has written the history of Air America, says neither Brenneke nor Rupp appears in the company's personnel records.

Brenneke has been talking to reporters for more than two years, offering detailed but unconfirmable stories about his life as a secret agent, gun-runner and occasional drug pilot. He has claimed that he supplied explosives to a Palestine Liberation Organization training camp located in western Oregon; Oregon law enforcement officials say they know of no such camp. He has talked of flying weapons to the CIA-supported Nicaraguan rebels, or Contras, and of working on secret shipments of U.S. weapons to Iran, but congressional investigators say they have been unable to confirm those claims.

Chain of Sources

Not until last month, however, did Brenneke mention any meetings with Bush and Casey in Paris. His new testimony on that score came only after Honegger told him, in August, of reports that such a meeting had occurred. Honegger, in turn, apparently received her first reports of the alleged Paris meetings from Bani-Sadr; and Bani-Sadr learned of them from a friend in Iran whom he refused to identify.

Bani-Sadr himself says he isn't sure he believes that Bush ever flew to any secret meetings in Paris.

"It is very difficult for me to believe that a candidate for vice president would participate in such a rendezvous," he said. "That would be very dangerous, very risky, because if it were discovered it would be his political death. I can imagine such a thing but whether it is true or not I do not have the slightest idea."

But Honegger is undeterred. "Some people have doubts about Dick Brenneke's credibility, I

know," she said firmly. "I don't."

The controversy, however shaky its roots, is unlikely to go away.

On Monday, a Los Angeles lawyer who sued the federal government and the Khomeini regime on behalf of 13 of the Tehran hostages announced that he is now prepar-

ing a suit against the estate of Casey, against the 1980 Reagan Bush campaign—and possibly against Bush as well.

The lawyer, James H. Davis, said he believes the Reagan campaign may have violated the law by seeking a private deal with Iran and probably also undercut the position of the Carter Administration's negotiators—and that may have prolonged his clients' ordeal.

"The result to my clients was

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North Defense Claim Held 'Shocking'

WASHINGTON (AP)—Oliver L. North's claim that he was not warned that lying to Congress would result in criminal prosecution shows that he holds a "shocking and cynical" view of American government, Iran-Contra prosecutors said Monday.

The former presidential aide's

tions of our system of government and, we believe, inconsistent with any but the most jaundiced view of the realities of politics and government," the prosecutors said in a reply to defense motions.

Independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh, meanwhile, consented to dismissal of another of the 16

Leads, Leaps of Faith in Hostage Tale

are briefing them [the campaign] during this pe-

gest new wrinkle in the October Surprise has been Richard Brenneke, a well-known international arms dealer from Portland, Ore., who told a federal judge in many last month that he and Casey and Richard Brenneke had secretly traveled to Paris in 1980—in the final weeks of the campaign—to meet with agents of Khomeini's

said he attended a Oct. 20, 1980, at which Donald P. Gregg, now national security adviser, gave the Iranians \$40 million for the release of the hostages after Election Day. Brenneke said he transferred \$40 million to the purchase of weapons for the release of the hostages. Brenneke said in a letter to Casey and Mr. Gregg that the meeting was being held at the purchase of weapons.

said he did not see or hear anything that he believed that Bush had met Iranian officials on Oct.

at Hearing

offered his testimony during a hearing in Denver of Heinrich Rupp, a friend who was convicted in 1987 of bank fraud. Brenneke told the judge that he had been acting on Casey's behalf when he defrauded the Aurora Bank. Brenneke told Denver's Rocky Mountain News that he was the one who had Casey to Paris in 1980, and said he believes Casey was on the tarmac at Paris' Orly Airport.

Brenneke nor Rupp has any evidence to support his claims, however, and most legal actions have been dropped. Brenneke says he made no contact with Casey in Paris in October, 1980. Brenneke, whose agents were then vice-presidents of the then-vice-presidential campaign, says he was in Paris during the period in

which he did not visit Paris and showed a reporter his handwritten logbooks and notes in question. (They were many other entries, appeared on the television "Meet the Press" on Oct. 18, 1987, and confirmed, and a telephone with Casey, in Washington, on Oct.

Discounted

and in May, 1987, but "There isn't any way to have been done by Casey as stealthy as he was."

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The lawyer, James H. Davis, said he believes the Reagan campaign may have violated the law by seeking a private deal with Iran, and probably also undercut the position of the Carter Administration's negotiators—and that may have prolonged his clients' ordeal.

"The result to my clients was

they were not only kept longer, 2 1/2 months longer... but it also hobbled our negotiators in dealing with Iran," Davis said.

"Once we file, we will at least have the power to subpoena these people to get their sworn testimony on what happened," Davis said. "Won't that be interesting?"

Staff writers William C. Rempel in Los Angeles, Michael Ross in Cairo and Rose Tempest in Paris also contributed to this story.

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'Shocking'

system of government here, inconsistent with most jaundiced view of politics and government prosecutors said in a case motions. But counsel Lawrence Scanlon, consented to another of the 16

It has been widely reported since the November disclosure of the Iran arms affair that Israel began shipping American-made weapons to Iran within a month of Reagan's January 1981 inauguration.

Played major role

McFarlane, who was President Reagan's national security adviser from 1983 to 1985, played a major role in the Iran arms deal, according to Tehran in May 1986 with National Security Council aide Oliver North, where they unsuccessfully sought a meeting with Rafsanjani. North was fired Nov. 25 for allegedly diverting profits of the Iranian arms sales to the Nicaraguan contras.

The arms sales to Iran last year provoked a major scandal in the United States. The Khomeini government held the hostages for 444 days, creating strong anti-Iranian sentiment among Americans. Carter aborted in progress an April 1980 rescue mission.

While there appears to be no connection between the 1986 arms sales and the 1980-1981 events surrounding the American hostages in Tehran, the involvement of McFarlane and Rafsanjani in both affairs could help explain the Reagan administration's intense interest last year in pursuing a strategic opening to Iran.

The White House and former President Carter declined comment.

Allen, who became Reagan's first national security adviser, said Khomeini retained the hostages of his own accord until Reagan became president as a symbolic last-minute insult to Carter and not because of a deal with the Reagan campaign.

"Absolute baloney," Allen said, referring to the possibility a deal was struck between the Reagan campaign and Iran on a coordinated release of the hostages. He also denied that the Reagan campaign people ever discussed any arms deals with Iran.

"There was no authorized contact, at any time, with any Iranians on such deals," Allen said. However, he said he could not speak for any "free-lancers" who might have invoked Reagan's name in discussions with the Iranians.

Hostility cited

"All we felt was a sense of unremitting hostility toward the Khomeini regime," said Allen, now a Washington consultant.

Nevertheless, he and Silberman, now a judge at the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, said that at McFarlane's behest they met for 20 to 30 minutes at L'Enfant Plaza Hotel sometime during the first two weeks of October 1980 with a man who allegedly represented the Khomeini regime.

Allen and Silberman said McFarlane, then an aide to the Senate Armed Services Committee under Chairman John Tower, R-Texas, also attended the meeting.

Allen, who then headed Reagan's foreign policy advisory group, and Silberman, who was its co-chairman, said they could not recall if the individual was Iranian.

...design of under the auspices of the Reagan campaign... to humiliate Carter and influence our [Reagan's] election.

"I said to him, 'We have one president at a time,' thus indicating that he should deal with Carter, not us."

Allen said the meeting "was ridiculous and went directly against the grain of what the Reagan campaign stood for or the best interests of the hostages. It was something I simply dismissed."

Silberman and Allen said they ended the meeting and walked out without accepting the offer.

"It came to nothing," Silberman said.

Silberman said that while riding in a car immediately after the meeting, he advised Allen to write a memorandum about it "in the event that, someday, this might come out."

Memo misplaced

Allen said he wrote such a memo which he later misplaced and has been trying unsuccessfully to locate since the Iran scandal surfaced last fall.

Allen said he does not remember if he showed or provided a copy of the memo to Reagan or William Casey. At the time Casey was Reagan's campaign manager. He served as CIA director under Reagan until he resigned Feb. 2 after brain surgery for a tumor.

Allen said that neither Casey nor Reagan were aware of, or approved in advance, the meeting with McFarlane and the purported Iranian representative.

The CIA said it could not comment on actions by Casey as a private citizen.

No one in the Carter administration was advised of the meeting, Allen said.

A source familiar with the meeting said no one else was advised of the session because it was not clear what the implications might be or even who the alleged Iranian representative really was.

"I had authority to hold meetings like that without clearing them in advance with Reagan or Casey," Allen said. "I was in charge of the foreign policy advisory group."

Special panel

In his capacity as Reagan campaign foreign policy adviser, Allen had assembled a special 10-member panel that came to be known as the October Surprise Group. The name came from a belief by Reagan that Carter would try to win the election with an "October surprise" — a last-minute deal for release of the hostages before the Nov. 4 election.

Allen's group began holding daily meetings in early October 1980 on how to counter just such a possibility and preserve Reagan's lead in the polls.

In his book, *Keeping Faith*, Carter said that at the time his administration had been holding secret talks with an Iranian government representative, Saeed Tabatabaee, over a four-point plan to release the hostages.

Carter said in his book that two days before the election the Iranian

assets was given as the reason for the delay. However, Mansur Rafiz, former top official of the Iranian Savak security said in his recently published

tion to release the hostages resumed following the election, he anticipated their freedom before Reagan took office.

However, he said that he was not in full control of the negotia-

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INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

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DE FO #0019 0052245

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P 052229Z JAN 89

FM FBI BALTIMORE (161A-HQ-20403) (SQ 9) (RUC)

TO DIRECTOR FBI/PRIORITY/

BT

UNCLAS

CITE: //3050//

SUBJECT: JOHN GOODWIN TOWER; SPIN.

RE BUREAU TELETYPE TO ALBANY, DATED DECEMBER 2, 1988.

RE TELETYPE ADVISED BALTIMORE NOT TO RUC CAPTIONED MATTER
INASMUCH AS ADDITIONAL LEADS WOULD BE PROVIDED TO BALTIMORE.

THE RESULTS OF COMPLETED INVESTIGATION BY BALTIMORE HAVE
BEEN PROVIDED TO THE BUREAU. NO ADDITIONAL LEADS HAVE BEEN
RECEIVED FROM THE BUREAU; THEREFORE CAPTIONED MATTER IS
CONSIDERED RUC BY BALTIMORE.

BT

#0019

CC DESTROYED

NEW MAIL JUST ARRIVED: INBOX.133PF60NIT
FORMS.TEXT HAS 1 DOCUMENT

INBOX.50 (#2003)

TEXT:

RECEIVED
TELETYPE UNIT
6 JAN 89 03 00Z
FEDERAL BUREAU
OF INVESTIGATION

VZCZCSE0005

OO HQ WMFO KC

DE SE #0005 0052316

ZNR UUUUU

O 052251Z JAN 89

FM FBI SEATTLE (161B-2102) (RUC)

TO DIRECTOR FBI (161-20403)/IMMEDIATE/

FBI WMFO (161A-1941)(A-1)/IMMEDIATE/

FBI KANSAS CITY/IMMEDIATE/

BT

UNCLAS

CITE: //3840//

SUBJECT: JOHN GOODWIN TOWER; SPIN; BUDED: PAST.

RE WMFO TELETYPE DATED JANUARY 4, 1989; WMFO TELCALL TO
SEATTLE, JANUARY 5, 1989.

FOR INFO OF KANSAS CITY, WFT-5, AN INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWED
DURING THIS INVESTIGATION, RELATED HE WAS TOLD THAT [REDACTED]
AND [REDACTED] CALLED SENATOR TOWER [REDACTED]
DURING 1981 REGARDING AN FBI INVESTIGATION OF MELVIN PAISLEY, WHO
HAD BEEN NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT FOR THE POSITION OF ASSISTANT

Exec AD Adm.	_____
Exec AD Inv.	_____
Exec AD CSS	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Adm. Serv.	_____
Crim. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Intell.	_____
Lab.	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Off. Cong. & Public Affs.	_____
Rec. Mgmt.	_____
Tech. Servs.	_____
Training	_____
Off. Liaison & Int. Affs.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director's Sec'y	_____

CC DESTROYED

7 APR 26 1989

PAGE TWO DE SE 0005 UNCLAS

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY. [] AND [] ARE SAID TO HAVE REQUESTED TOWER [] NOT TO SURFACE ANY DEROGATORY INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE (SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE), THUS ELIMINATING ANY PROBLEM CAUSED BY REVELATION OF THE SUPPOSED DEROGATORY INFORMATION. AT THE TIME OF THE ABOVE NOMINATION HEARINGS, 1981, [] WAS EMPLOYED AT [] [] AND [] WAS [] [] EMPLOYMENT AT THAT TIME IS UNCERTAIN. [] IS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED BY [] [] PRESENTLY [] [] WILL BE INTERVIEWED BY WMFO ON JANUARY 5, 1989. [] WAS BELIEVED TO BE EMPLOYED BY [] [] IN AN UNKNOWN CAPACITY.

ON JANUARY 5, 1989, [] AN EMPLOYEE WITH THE []

[] PROVIDED

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

[] WAS TRANSFERRED IN NOVEMBER, 1988, TO THE

[] AT THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS: []

[] TELEPHONE NUMBER []

PAGE THREE DE SE 0005 UNCLAS

LEADS: KANSAS CITY AT WICHITA, KANSAS: INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] EMPLOYED AT [REDACTED] DURING INTERVIEW OF

[REDACTED] KANSAS CITY IS REQUESTED TO DETERMINE THE FOLLOWING:

1. DID [REDACTED] ADVISE TOWER [REDACTED] OF ANY DEROGATORY
INFORMATION CONCERNING PAISLEY?

2. DID [REDACTED] REQUEST THAT TOWER [REDACTED] NOT ADVISE
MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF DEROGATORY INFORMATION REGARDING
PAISLEY AS MIGHT BE CONTAINED IN THE REPORT.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, SEATTLE DIVISION IS PLACING THIS
MATTER IN RUC STATUS.

BT

#0005

NNNN

VZCZCLOM0089

PP HQ

DE LON #0082 0051528

ZNY CCCCC

P 051640Z JAN 89

FM LEGAT LONDON (161E-213) (RUC)

TO DIRECTOR FBI/PRIORITY/

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(CORRECTED COPY)

CITE: //5200/X

PASS: HQ TO [REDACTED]

b6 per FBI
b7C

SUBJECT: JOHN GOODWIN TOWER; SPIN (A); BUDED: PAST.

Referral/Consult

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 05-24-2011
CLASSIFIED BY 60322 UC/LP/PJ/KM
REASON: 1.4 (c)
DECLASSIFY ON: 05-24-2036

CC DESTROYED

161-2043-36

7 APR 26 1989

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1
1

JAN 6 1989

BY COURIER

*Hand carried
by THK 1-6-89
agw*

[redacted]
Office of the President-Elect
Transition Counsel's Office
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Suite 910
Washington, D. C.

Dear [redacted]

Reference is made to my letters to your office dated December 13, and December 23, 1988, which furnished the partial results of a background investigation concerning Senator John Goodwin Tower.

Transmitted herewith is a copy of a summary memorandum containing the results of additional inquiries in this matter, along with copies of interviews providing details of information contained in this summary memorandum.

A check of the records of the Public Integrity Section, Department of Justice, disclosed three file references to Senator Tower. Those files continue to be unavailable for review. Additionally, a check of the files of the Senate Armed Services Committee is outstanding. When those files have been reviewed, you will be advised.

Sincerely yours,

FIC 161-7161-37
Floyd I. Clarke
Assistant Director
Criminal Investigative Division

2-ENCLOSURE

Enclosures (15)

7 APR 25 1989

NOTE: During an interview of [redacted] on December 1, 1988, in the "Illwind" investigation, he advised that an individual named [redacted] had the impression that Senator Tower had a relationship with the TRACOR company. [redacted] allegedly quit TRACOR after [redacted]

[redacted] did not believe was work related. [redacted] stated that [redacted] alleged that Tower

RAM:alp (3)

RETURN TO [redacted] ROOM 4371

PENDING INACTIVE

MAIL ROOM ☐

Exec AD Adm. _____
Exec AD Inv. _____
Exec AD LES _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Insp. _____
Intell. _____
Lab. _____
Legal Coun. _____
Off. Cong. & _____
Public Affs. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Off. Liaison & _____
Int. Affs. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

[redacted]
[redacted] contacted TRACOR and "things stopped." [redacted] was interviewed on December 23, 1988 by the Newark Division, and advised that he had no knowledge of Senator Tower and that he knew of no improprieties or type of unethical relationship between Senator Tower and TRACOR.

On December 16, 1988, an anonymous telephone call was received by SSA [redacted] SPIN Unit. The caller advised that [redacted] would be able to provide comments concerning Senator Tower's womanizing, his allegedly securing his former wife, Lilla, a government position, and his alcohol consumption. All four of those individuals were interviewed and provided only favorable comments concerning Senator Tower and did not substantiate the comments made by the anonymous caller.

The names of [redacted] and [redacted] were provided by the Office of the President Elect as individuals who were alleged to be able to provide information concerning Senator Tower's alleged womanizing and excessive consumption of alcohol. Both were interviewed, and neither provided any derogatory information.

The following interviews were sent to the Office of the President Elect: T-4 (Senator Carl Levin) [redacted] T-5 [redacted]; T-7 [redacted] b6
b7C
b7D

Also sent to the Office of the President Elect: Letter dated 5/20/81 from [redacted] to Senator Tower; letter in response dated 6/10/81 from [redacted] to [redacted] summary memorandum dated September 10, 1986 concerning [redacted] [redacted] interviews of [redacted] and Senators Tower, Goldwater and Levin from the 1986 background investigation of [redacted] and letter dated 10/2/86 to Barry Goldwater, Chairman, SASC, from John R. Bolton, Assistant Attorney General, stating that criminal prosecution of [redacted] was not warranted. b6
b7C

Outstanding: Check of PIS at DOJ, and a review of files at the Senate Armed Services Committee.

JAN 6 1989

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER

The information in this summary memorandum supplements the information contained in summary memoranda dated December 13, and December 23, 1988. Additional investigation is being conducted.

Employment

Information has been received from Maxwell Communications Corporation, London, England, indicating that since August, 1987, Senator Tower has served as a consultant for their company.

Interviews

*

An individual, who requested confidentiality, stated he/she has known Senator Tower on a professional basis for approximately ten years. He/she believed Senator Tower was "not very accommodating with opponents of his position", but that he was competent, intelligent and knowledgeable on defense issues. He/she knew of no alcohol abuse or drug use by Senator Tower, and had no personal knowledge of any alleged sexual indiscretions by Senator Tower.

He/she had no personal knowledge of any illegal campaign contributions or illegal expenditures of campaign funds on the part of Senator Tower. He/she stated he/she was aware that various newspaper articles raised the issue of Senator Tower's expenditure of campaign funds, which could raise ethical problems if not fully explained by Senator Tower.

He/she related an incident wherein language was inserted into the "FY85 Defense Authorization Bill" which was not previously included in either the original House or Senate bill. The Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC) [redacted] at that time, [redacted] over

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Exec AD Adm. _____
Exec AD Inv. _____
Exec AD LES _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Insp. _____
Intell. _____
Lab. _____
Legal Coun. _____
Off. Cong. & _____
Public Affs. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Off. Liaison & _____
Int. Affs. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

RAM:alp (3)

RETURN TO [redacted]

ROOM 4371

ENCLOSURE

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b7C

John Goodwin Tower

b6
b7C

this issue when the additional language was discovered. He/she further advised that [] allegedly told Senator John Warner that Senator Tower had directed him to insert this language into the bill. He/she stated that he/she was not sure if Senator Tower was responsible for the insertion, and that even if he was, "it may not be an improper motive."

[]
(At the time, Mr. Paisley had been nominated as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and the SASC was presiding over the confirmation hearing.) He/she questioned Senator Tower's credibility and ethics if Senator Tower, allegedly in possession of derogatory information concerning Mr. Paisley, either on his own, and/or possibly in conjunction with the White House, failed to convey this derogatory information to the SASC. He/she added that he/she had no personal knowledge of Senator Tower's involvement in this matter.

He/she could not personally recommend Senator Tower for the appointment, although he/she opined that Senator Tower is qualified in that he is knowledgeable enough to be Secretary of Defense.

**

A second individual, who requested confidentiality, advised he/she has known Senator Tower on a professional basis since 1975. He/she described Senator Tower as a very effective Chairman of the SASC who was articulate in presenting his views. He/she has no personal knowledge of excessive alcohol consumption by Senator Tower, or receipt or expenditure of illegal campaign contributions by him.

He/she has made some personal observations that might be construed as sexual indiscretions by Senator Tower. He/she recounted an incident that occurred at [] party for Senator Tower in either [] or [] at [] during which Senator Tower was observed holding hands with [] a SASC employee. Senator Tower

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b7D

*: []

John Goodwin Tower

and [] were observed leaving the party and going into Senator Tower's known bedroom area. A "number of hours" passed and he/she saw Senator Tower and [] at the party once again. He/she did not see when they came out of the room, and stated it could have been a brief, innocent meeting. He/she was not implying that any type of indiscretion occurred, but only that one could construe this incident as a possible indiscretion. b6 b7C

He/she related an instance in which Senator Tower lobbied on behalf of a particular contractor but he/she did not want to characterize this activity as a conflict of interest. He/she stated that approximately one year ago, Senator Tower called a member of the SASC staff regarding the "C-FIN Reprogramming Project". He/she said Senator Tower told a staff member that three companies (LTV, British Aerospace, and Lockheed Georgia) had an interest in the project, and that, if it was approved, "one or two or three" of the companies would sustain a direct benefit. He/she stated he/she believed Senator Tower was advocating that the SASC approve the project, and, in effect, advocating the position of the Department of Defense. He/she noted that the project was not approved by the Senate. b6 b7C

He/she stated that he/she received information that during the 1981 nomination hearings of Melvyn Paisley, [] and [] called Senator Tower [] the SASC [] and requested that Senator Tower [] not convey to the committee an FBI report concerning Mr. Paisley which contained derogatory information. He/she also stated that he/she had knowledge that Senator Tower [] added a provision to a defense authorization bill, and that [] related that Senator Tower had asked him to do it. He/she had no firsthand knowledge of either of these matters.

He/she recommended Senator Tower for a position of trust with the United States government.

A third individual, who requested confidentiality, was familiar with Senator Tower on a professional basis. She believes that Senator Tower abused alcohol in that he used it to escape. She related that frequently after long or hard days of debate on the Senate floor, Senator Tower would invite staff and other Committee members to his office, where she saw him "enjoy several martinis or white wines." She believes he drank "more than the average social drinker in a similar situation."

*** []

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John Goodwin Tower

She had knowledge of two instances which she believes might have a bearing on Senator Tower's suitability. She advised that the first situation occurred at a dinner in New York City in either March or April of 1983. She stated that after the dinner, Senator Tower and most of his staff members went to the hospitality suite in the hotel where Senator Tower was staying. She said that at approximately 12:30 or 1:00 am, Senator Tower asked her to come and sit down next to him on the couch, and then asked her where she was staying. She replied that she was staying at a different hotel. [REDACTED]

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b7c

[REDACTED] She commented that she was appalled, and told Senator Tower she was not interested and walked away from him. She added that Senator Tower appeared to be "sloshed", extremely intoxicated, and she believes he probably had no recollection of the incident as he made no further mention of it.

She also related an incident that occurred at [REDACTED] held at [REDACTED] after Senator Tower announced his retirement from the Senate. Following dinner and having had the opportunity to drink a lot, she noticed Senator Tower take the hand of [REDACTED] and then walk her into his quarters. She said it was quite obvious to everyone what Senator Tower was doing. She asked the [REDACTED]

After this brief conversation, she returned to her room for the night, and does not know what actually took place or how long they were in Senator Tower's quarters. She advised that there was a general understanding of those who observed this incident that Senator Tower and the staff member were together for a lengthy period of time. She noticed Senator Tower to be quite drunk when this incident occurred, as she had observed the "quantity of alcohol consumed and the visible results of his drinking." She added that the next morning, when [REDACTED] was asked about the events of the night before, she replied, "Oh, it was nothing; he was cute; we just chatted."

She stated that she felt Senator Tower has serious flaws in his character, which is reflected by his use of alcohol and his resulting behavior. She could not recommend him for a position of trust and confidence with the Government or for access to classified materials if his problems with alcohol persist.

[redacted] stated she has known Senator Tower since February, 1984, when she was hired as a [redacted] advised that the first time she spoke with Senator Tower outside of work occurred in [redacted] at a [redacted] One night, while Senator Tower and other men played poker, a military aide passed a message to her that Senator Tower wanted to see her. Senator Tower asked her to sit next to him while he was playing poker in order to be his good luck charm. At no time that evening were she and Senator Tower alone together, and [redacted] returned to her cabin at approximately 11:30 pm. She denied ever having any type of sexual contact with Senator Tower. She recommended him for a position of trust and confidence with the United States government.

[redacted] advised he was the [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] He emphatically stated that he has no personal knowledge of Senator Tower's use or misuse of alcohol or his involvement with women. He has heard rumors and allegations regarding these issues, and feels there is validity to these rumors based on the frequency of the reports, reports in the news media, and the stature/reputation of the persons advising him. He would recommend Senator Tower for a position of trust and responsibility within the government, but has serious reservations about him serving as Secretary of Defense. He personally feels Senator Tower's rumored abuse of alcohol could interfere in the performance of his duties, cloud his judgment, and adversely influence his advice to the President.

[redacted] advised that she has been acquainted with Senator Tower since [redacted]
[redacted] She opined that by virtue of his experience and competence, Senator Tower should be an outstanding Secretary of Defense. She stated that in her opinion, Senator Tower does not abuse alcohol. [redacted] said that when she first knew Senator Tower, he did consume a great deal of alcohol, but she cannot recall any instances where she believed that he had become intoxicated when acting as a Senator or as a member of the SASC. She advised that in private settings, he, along with others, may have had one drink too many, but she characterized his consumption of alcohol as stopping short of intoxication to the point of unconsciousness or being an embarrassment to himself. She believes that Senator Tower's

John Goodwin Tower

recent drinking habits have been much more moderate. She strongly recommended him for the position of Secretary of Defense.

Ten additional individuals, consisting of professional associates and social acquaintances, were interviewed. They advised Senator Tower is a loyal American whose character, reputation, and associates are above reproach. They stated they are unaware of any illegal drug use or alcohol abuse by Senator Tower, nor have they ever known him to exhibit any type of bias or prejudice against any class of citizen or any type of religious, racial or ethnic group. They also commented that they believe Senator Tower lives within his financial means. They described him as industrious, competent, diplomatic, discreet, personable, articulate, and trustworthy. A professional associate commented that Senator Tower was an able and capable administrator who possessed an extensive knowledge of both the details and the overall strategic implications of various weapons systems and programs. They recommended him for a position of trust and responsibility.

Among those interviewed are the following:

[redacted] b6
[redacted] b7C
[redacted]
[redacted] and
[redacted]
[redacted]

Issues

As reported in the Interviews section of this summary memorandum, the following additional issues were developed concerning Senator Tower.

Issue 5: Allegation that Senator Tower was contacted by the Ayatollah Khomeini or a representative of the Khomeini government regarding the United States providing arms to Iran in exchange for the hostages.

As stated in the December 16, 1988 interview of [redacted]
[redacted] the results of which are contained in the summary memorandum dated December 23, 1988, [redacted] related a story wherein the Ayatollah Khomeini contacted Senator Tower

John Goodwin Tower

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regarding his desire to have the United States provide Iran with airplane parts. [redacted] advised that [redacted] would be in a position to provide additional information concerning this matter.

[redacted]
[redacted] were interviewed concerning this matter, the results of which are incorporated in this summary memorandum.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/27/88

1

[redacted] At approximately 12:00 noon on December 21, 1988, [redacted] a white female adult born [redacted] at [redacted] voluntarily appeared at the Monterey Resident Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, following attempts by the interviewing agents to contact her at her residence, [redacted] home telephone number [redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing agents by a display of credentials and also was advised that the interview was in connection with the background investigation being conducted by the FBI of former Senator JOHN TOWER, who is currently a presidential appointee for the position of Secretary of Defense pending his appointment and confirmation by the United States Senate. As previously arranged with [redacted] by telephone, arrangements were made for the interview to be tape-recorded by [redacted] and the interviewing agents. [redacted] was also advised of the confidentiality provisions of the Privacy Act; however, she stated that she requested no confidentiality for any of her statements which she would provide. Thereafter, [redacted] provided the following information:

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[redacted] stated that she had been contacted by [redacted] following [redacted] interview by the FBI in Washington, D.C. [redacted] described her employment as [redacted] and said that she is currently [redacted]

[redacted] was read, verbatim, [redacted] statement as given to FBI representatives in Washington, D.C. on December 16, 1988. [redacted] noted that she is the source of the information provided by [redacted] and she provided certain corrections and clarifications to this statement.

First, [redacted] stated that, by way of background, prior to the 1980 elections she had been employed as [redacted]

[redacted] the REAGAN - BUSH campaign. During the campaign, [redacted] accompanied [redacted] to work with him in the [redacted] the REAGAN - BUSH campaign [redacted] Following the

Investigation on 12/21/88 at Monterey, California File # SF 161A-4802
by SA [redacted] kc Date dictated 12/22/88

SF 161A-4802
GLM/kc

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED]

12/21/88

2

, On _____, Page _____

election, she continued to work for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Later, she obtained the title [REDACTED]

She advised that she was among those who moved into the [REDACTED] prior to his actual departure from that location. Later, [REDACTED] stated she was promoted to the position of [REDACTED] and remained there until [REDACTED]

At that time, she stated that she transferred to the [REDACTED] where she worked in the [REDACTED] until [REDACTED]

At that time, she stated that she returned to [REDACTED] for "family problems."

Of the interviewing agents by a circular [REDACTED]

Third, [REDACTED] makes the correction that although [REDACTED] statement indicates that former Iranian President BANI-SADR originally made public the story of these early attempts by Iranians to obtain arms, the actual source of the more recently learned facts regarding the early meetings came from [REDACTED]

And forth, contrary to [REDACTED] statement, [REDACTED] clarified that it was not the Ayattollah Khomeini himself who had contacted JOHN TOWER, rather an emissary of the Ayattollah and that TOWER had not sent [REDACTED] with this information to the White House, rather to the REAGAN - BUSH campaign office.

At this time, [REDACTED] provided a copy of a thirteen page document [REDACTED] entitled "PRE-1980-ELECTION NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE 1980 REAGAN-BUSH CAMPAIGN AND IRAN TO DELAY RELEASE OF THE 52 U.S. HOSTAGES IN EXCHANGE FOR A PROMISE OF FUTURE U.S. ARMS." In addition, HONEGGER also provided a copy of a four page document entitled "Timeline of Events - October Surprise Story." A copy of each of these documents is attached to and made part of this communication.

SF 161A-4802
GLM/kcb6
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Continuation of FD-302 of [redacted], On 12/21/88, Page 3

[redacted] stated that following the [redacted] she was in the office of [redacted]. She stated that [redacted] told her that he was attempting to confirm the story just released by [redacted] at [redacted] and had just spoken with [redacted] on the telephone. He advised her that [redacted] had told him for the first time that it was JOHN TOWER who was first contacted by the emissaries of the Ayatollah Khomeini and that TOWER had directed [redacted] to place these emissaries in contact with [redacted] and [redacted]. It is this information which [redacted] feels to be most critical with regard to the suitability of former Senator TOWER for a cabinet position. [redacted] stated that [redacted] also told her that he had been in contact with [redacted] by telephone as well and that [redacted] had volunteered to him that it was [redacted] who had contacted him and insisted that [redacted] meet with these Iranian representatives. [redacted] expressed her opinion that these statements by [redacted] represent their reaction to [redacted] and their attempts to shift responsibility for this meeting thinking that "this is going to come unravelled." [redacted] added, however, that a troubling fact for her is that on [redacted]

In addition [redacted] said that the events surrounding these meetings between REAGAN - BUSH campaign officials and Iranians, have been very completely described in a series of articles which were written for the Miami Herald by one of their reporters, [redacted] during the time frame August 1987 through April 1988. [redacted] strongly urged the FBI to review these articles for background information regarding this issue in general. She stated that it was her understanding that [redacted] had contacted [redacted] regarding their meeting with the Iranian (although [redacted] herself believes that there may be more than one Iranian involved.) [redacted] stated that "these three men all claim that nothing came from this meeting, [redacted] everything came from this meeting and they are not telling the truth. There were follow-up meetings, some in Paris, where even more top level officers of the REAGAN - BUSH campaign met with even more top level Iranians and cut and arms for hostages deal."

Thus, [redacted] states that she believes that JOHN TOWER is closely associated with this entire series of events and that "he was brought into the TOWER commission to cover up his own capability. She stated that "I believe JOHN TOWER was at the center in general, because [redacted] and has been close to him always. JOHN TOWER is an old personal friend of President (SIC) BUSH. He supported BUSH in 1980 against REAGAN. He was a close advisor to the REAGAN - BUSH campaign. Two to three weeks after this meeting, which TOWER was instrumental in setting up, BUSH traveled to Paris and met with top Iranian officials there."

SF 161A-4802
GLM/kcb6
b7C

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED], On 12/21/88, Page 4

[REDACTED] acknowledged that the only persons who could provide definite answers to these questions raised by her were the people who were actually involved in these meetings, or arranging these meetings, that is, TOWER, [REDACTED] and whoever the Iranian(s) is or were. [REDACTED] acknowledged also that the only one of these persons to date she has attempted to contact regarding this story is [REDACTED] himself, however, she is awaiting further contact with an aide of [REDACTED] to schedule an interview.

In addition to the above, [REDACTED] provided a copy of an article which appeared on the front page of the Washington Post on November 29, 1986, entitled "Israeli Sale Said Allowed by Haig in '81" written by BOB WOODWARD and WALTER PINCUS. [REDACTED] also provided a copy of an article entitled "Deal of the Decade" which appeared in the publication "In These Times," October 12 through 18, 1988, and was written by JOEL BLEIFUSS, which [REDACTED] says is the best current summary of this story extant to date.

A copy of these two documents are attached to and made part of this communication.

CM
12/24/88

SUMMARY FACT SHEET

**PRE-1980-ELECTION NEGOTIATIONS
BETWEEN THE 1980 REAGAN-BUSH CAMPAIGN AND IRAN
TO DELAY RELEASE OF THE 52 U.S. HOSTAGES
IN EXCHANGE FOR A PROMISE OF FUTURE U.S. ARMS**

**Research by Barbara Honegger, M.S.
Former White House Policy Analyst, 1981-82**

(408) 649-5071

For a 90-page annotated Timeline documenting this Summary,
with full references and summaries of taped interviews
with the principals involved,

Send \$20 to Barbara Honegger, M.S.
P.O. Box 51332

Pacific Grove, CA 93950

For a Press Clip Set of 50 key articles on
this story from the mainstream press,
Send \$10 to Barbara Honegger, M.S. at the above address.

The author will make all research materials,
including interview transcripts,
interview tapes, and in-depth written analyses
available to all serious media and historians
for reasonable consideration.

-1-

1) Former President Carter has confirmed that he had reports before the 1980 election that the Reagan-Bush campaign was trying to delay release of the hostages held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran so that "they would not be released (before the election) and that weapon sales would be restored to Iran either directly or through the Israelis" (Larry King Radio, June 15, 1988). In that same interview he stated that, if asked by Dukakis, he will provide more details to the media about controversial issues regarding which he has personal knowledge. The October 1988 issue of PLAYBOY reproduces a February 1988 letter from President Carter on the same subject ("An Election Held Hostage," PLAYBOY, October 1988).

2) According to [redacted] a graduate student of future Reagan-Bush pollster Richard Beal at Brigham Young University in Utah, in the Spring of 1980, before President Carter's Desert One hostage rescue attempt, Beal completed a computerized "October Surprise" polling analysis which revealed that if President Carter brought the 52 U.S. hostages home any time within a critical "window of vulnerability" between October 18 and October 25, 1980, he would receive a 10-point boost in the polls projected for election day (November 4, 1980) for a CERTAIN victory and a CERTAIN Republican defeat (HIDDEN POWER, Roland Perry). According to [redacted] Beal reported his results to Reagan's chief pollster and top campaign adviser Richard Wirthlin, who reported them to the 1980 Reagan campaign. Beal told [redacted] that this computerized "October Surprise" analysis was funded by the CIA. There are now reports (see below) from claimed eyewitnesses [redacted] and [redacted] that George Bush, Reagan's vice-presidential running mate, left the east coast for a secret meeting in Paris, France to meet with senior Khomeini officials on precisely the date of the beginning of this "window of vulnerability" -- October 18, 1980.

3) [redacted] (Reagan's 1980 campaign [redacted]) [redacted] [redacted] Texas Senator John Tower on the Senate Armed Services Committee) (Tower was then Vice Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and frequently in communication with top officials in the Reagan-Bush campaign), and [redacted] [redacted] have all acknowledged that they met with a self-proclaimed Khomeini emissary who offered to release the hostages to the Reagan-Bush camp (and not to President Carter), at a meeting at the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel in Washington, D.C. in early October 1980 [redacted] recalls the date slightly differently as late September 1980) (Miami Herald, August 9, 1987, p. 1). According to [redacted]

(in a telephone interview with [redacted] of the Washington, D.C. office of the West German news weekly DER SPIEGEL, August 25, 1988); this Khomeini emissary who met with [redacted] [redacted] had first approached Senator John Tower. Tower, who later was part of the three-man Tower Commission, then put [redacted] on the task of getting the Khomeini emissary together with [redacted]. This was the first of at least four such meetings between senior 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign officials and senior representatives of the Khomeini regime before the 1980 election to discuss interfering with President Carter's negotiations to bring the 52 hostages safely home at the earliest possible time.

3) THE AUTHOR HAS RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING REPORTS. FURTHER INFORMATION ON SOURCES FOLLOWS THIS SUMMARY OF THE REPORTS: On October 19, 1980 in Paris, France two follow-up meetings to the Washington, D.C./L'Enfant Plaze Hotel meeting took place amongst George Bush and senior representative(s) of the Reagan-Bush campaign and senior representatives of the Khomeini regime to finalize an agreement to delay release of the 52 hostages in exchange for a \$40 million payoff and a promise of \$5 billion in future U.S. arms shipments. According to [redacted] an eyewitness to these meetings (Rocky Mountain News, "Ex-CIA Man Ties Bush to 1980 Hostage Talks," Sunday, October 2, 1988), the participants at the first of these two meetings, which took place at approximately noon Paris time, were: Vice-presidential candidate George Bush, William Casey (manager of the Reagan-Bush campaign), [redacted]

[redacted] According to [redacted] the October 19, 1980 meetings took place at the Crillon Hotel in Paris. According to a 20-year CIA veteran (contact the author for his contact information), one of the two October 19, 1980 meetings may have taken place at the Rafael Hotel in Paris, and Bush was accompanied by one secret service agent, both on the trip to Paris and at the Paris meeting, and asked the secret service agent to "sweep" the meeting room for bugs.

According to [redacted] the Iranian officials at the meeting were a senior aide to [redacted] [redacted] arms dealer Cyrus Hashemi, [redacted] (also the middleman in the later 1985-86 U.S. arms deals with Iran), an Iranian citizen with ties to the prime minister's office, and [redacted] [redacted] presence with Casey at this critical meeting may explain why Casey, as CIA director, later insisted on using him in the 1985-86 operations despite his repeated failure of CIA lie detector tests. According to

the above-mentioned CIA veteran (KFI radio, Los Angeles, September 17, 1988, "The Bill Moran Show," tapes available from the author), also at one of the October 19, 1980 meetings was Jalal Al-Din Farsi, who represented the Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti (both Farsi and Beheshti were founders of both the Iranian Republic Party (IRP) which controlled Iran's parliament, and of Hezbollah, the Iran-loyal terrorist umbrella organization which has since taken further U.S. hostages in southern Lebanon). The KFI radio broadcast together with the CIA veteran was the first time that the name of the Iranian Republic Party (IRP) was mentioned in the U.S. media.

According to both [redacted] and the CIA veteran (whose source was a French intelligence report on the meetings filed with CIA headquarters and hand-delivered to Ronald Reagan in November 1980), George Bush brought to the meeting proof of transfer of \$40 million just wired to Iran's account at Bank Leu -- money Iran had demanded -- as a "good faith" payment and which it also needed to purchase arms and spare parts between the election and the Reagan-Bush inauguration for the Iran-Iraq war which had just begun on September 22, 1980. The \$40 million was reportedly part of a \$60 million illegal "campaign contribution" that the Shah of Iran had given to the Committee to Re-Elect the President (Nixon), also known as CRP, in 1972 which had been deposited in Mexico (see also Mansur Rafizadeh's WITNESS, p. 192). (Recall that Watergate started to unravel with the discovery by Washington Post reporters Woodward and Bernstein of large sums of money sent to CRP headquarters from Mexico). The entire Watergate scandal, in fact, involved the use of only about \$1 million out of this \$60 million for the political espionage and sabotage operations of CRP and the Nixon White House. During Watergate, George Bush was Chairman of the Republican National Committee in a position to know about the illegal \$60 million "contribution." According to the CIA veteran, the "gatekeeper" for the Mexico funds at that time was [redacted] the same [redacted] whom Bush recently appointed to a [redacted] in the Republican National Committee and who was forced to resign that post because of revelations that he had undertaken a survey to identify Jews in a government agency agency for Nixon.). According to the CIA veteran, the \$40 million was wired through the auspices of Merrill Lynch, where [redacted] was then [redacted] to Merrill Lynch's Zurich office, and from there into Iran's account in Bank Leu in Zurich.

The agreement made at this first Paris meeting of October 19, 1980 was that Iran agreed to delay release of the 52 U.S. hostages until Reagan and Bush's inauguration (they were released some 20 minutes into Reagan's inaugural address on January 20, 1981) in exchange for the \$40 million and a promise of \$5 billion in U.S. arms which would begin delivery in 1981. These arms were in fact shipped beginning in 1981 (see below)

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1) from the U.S., 2) from a draw-down of secret U.S. NATO stockpiles, especially in West Germany and Italy, and 3) through Israel, Taiwan and South Korea. [redacted] was reportedly captured referring to the \$5 billion in arms during his late May 1986 trip to Iran with [redacted] and [redacted] on behalf of President Reagan and Vice President Bush (see below).

4) According to the pilot who flew William Casey to the Paris meeting, [redacted] (interview with [redacted] of the Boston Globe, September 30, 1988), Casey's plane, a BAC-111 jet with tail markings MPAN (for Saudi royal family member [redacted]) left Washington National Airport late the night of October 18, 1980 and met a Grumman Gulfstream executive jet carrying Bush over New York, from where the two jets continued on to Paris, landing at Le Bourget airport outside of Paris between 10:00 and 11:00 a.m. Paris time, arriving in time for the first meeting beginning around noon Paris time. [redacted] report is consistent with that of the 20-year CIA veteran that Bush's plane had taken off from Stewart Air Force Base. [redacted] has testified that [redacted] flew BOTH Casey and Bush on his flight out of Washington National Airport for Paris. The apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that [redacted] saw his passengers only when he deplaned at Le Bourget airport to refuel and check the tires when he saw Casey leave his plane; however, Bush was already on the tarmac when [redacted] deplaned and there were other planes present [redacted] interview with the Boston Globe, September 30, 1988). While fueling the BAC-111 at Le Bourget airport, pilot [redacted] saw both Casey and Bush on the tarmac at the airport before they boarded waiting limousines. A second BAC-111 was on the ground at Le Bourget when [redacted] landed. [redacted] also told the Boston Globe that he had worked for [redacted] in the Middle East. It is therefore a possibility that the tape made of [redacted] by his kidnappers may have referred to the pre-1980-election Paris trip and explain why William Casey, who was at the Paris meeting, was so obsessed with getting [redacted] away from his kidnappers before he could talk).

Bush left immediately after the first meeting and returned to the east coast in time for an address to the Zionist Organization of America in Washington, D.C. the night of the 19th. (Bush's last scheduled campaign appearance on October 18, the day before the Paris meeting, was at 8:40 p.m. EST in Delaware County, Pennsylvania after which he was scheduled to go to Washington, D.C., from which [redacted] plane flew late that night, the 18th, out of Washington National Airport). After the October 19th meeting in Paris, William Casey then went on to Frankfurt in [redacted] BAC-111, after which [redacted] flew on to Basil, Switzerland, Cypress and Saudi Arabia. According to the CIA veteran, at least one of the planes used in the mission may have been serviced by Butler Aviation and left Van Nuys, California

before stopping on the east coast to pick up its passengers. (The flight each way, to and from Paris, takes approximately 6 hours from the east coast).

5) SOURCES: The source for much of the information in 3) and 4) above is a French intelligence report filed with the CIA and hand-delivered to Ronald Reagan in California in November 1980, and a 20-year CIA operations directorate veteran who read the report while at CIA headquarters at Langley in December 1980. Now retired, this 20-year CIA veteran called KFI radio (a 50,000-watt station out of Los Angeles, reaching 32 states) on September 17, 1988 during an interview on the air with the author. (A copy of that program is available). According to this ex-agent, who uses the name [redacted] a then member of French intelligence. [redacted]

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[redacted] was in Paris for the meetings with Reagan-Bush campaign and Khomeini officials. The French intelligence report was initialled by [redacted] of the French equivalent of the CIA, the Service of External Documentation and Counterespionage (SDECE), who hand-delivered a copy to the CIA (where [redacted] read it in the Agency's files a month later) and hand-delivered another copy to then president-elect Ronald Reagan, in California. This meeting between Reagan and [redacted] is reported in Bob Woodward's recent book, VEIL, pp. 39-41).

There is much additional confirmation about the Paris meetings (there were three; details concerning the other two follow shortly).

[redacted] who [redacted] testified was at the Paris meeting of October 19, 1980 and who [redacted] has acknowledged having met with a self-proclaimed Khomeini emissary at the earlier Washington, D.C. meeting, was reported by the New York Daily News on August 27, 1988 (p. 20) as no longer denying that a Paris meeting may have taken place: [redacted] said he could not deny that some 'self-starters' in the Reagan-Bush campaign 'might have met some Iranians in Paris,' as Honegger (the author) alleged, but insisted that no such meeting was authorized."

West coast arms dealer and businessman [redacted] an eyewitness to the Paris meetings first identified as such by the author in an interview in Washington, D.C. on August 23, 1988, is a CIA-trained pilot who served 13 years as a contract agent for the CIA, and is a long-time colleague of [redacted]

[redacted] CIA-front air service company, Air America, hired [redacted] the pilot who flew William Casey to the Paris meeting (the author's interviews with [redacted] and above-cited Rocky Mountain News article of 10/2/88). On September 23, 1988, [redacted]

testified in court in Denver, Colorado that [] was working for the CIA when he was on that mission.

[] former SAVAK officer under cover with Iran's United Nations mission in New York for 18 years and [] to [] for much of that time, has confirmed that [] was at the Paris meeting, based on discussions with [] (interviews with the author of 8/31/87 and 9/27/88).

In the Spring of 1987, an individual claiming to be an eyewitness to the first Paris meeting called KGO radio stating that he was then a secret service officer and that he was with George Bush and Reagan's then campaign [] in Europe in the late fall of 1980 when they paid an Iranian to hold up release of the 52 hostages until Carter was out of office (this tape is on record at KGO radio in San Francisco, whose policy is to release tapes under supoea). This information checks with reports of the above-mentioned 20-year CIA veteran based on the French intelligence report filed on the Paris meeting that one secret service agent accompanied Bush to the meeting.

The then president of Iran, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, has told numerous journalists (the author; Flora Lewis of the New York Times; Jonathan Silvers of PLAYBOY for the October 1988 issue, "An Election Held Hostage," p. 157) that "my first information was that George Bush met with a representative of Beheshti (whom we now know to have been IRP and Hezbollah founder Jalal Al-Din Farsi) (taped PLAYBOY interview of 4/10/88). Put together with Bani-Sadr's statement to Flora Lewis as reported in her column in the New York Times (8/3/87, "The Wiles of Teheran") that in October 1980 "There was a meeting in Paris between a representative of Beheshti and a representative of the Reagan campaign," it can be deduced that the "top representative of the Reagan campaign" he was referring in Playboy was George Bush. In a telephone interview of September 12, 1988 with journalist [] of KPFK radio out of Los Angeles, Bani-Sadr revealed that his source for this information about the Paris meeting, a former Iranian air force general, may have escaped Iran and might available for interviews.

[] to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, told journalist [] that a close friend of Ronald Reagan's and an adviser and top contributor to his 1980 presidential campaign who kept referring to Reagan as "Ronnie," met with [] in Beirut before the 1980 election and asked that the PLO persuade Khomeini to delay the release of the 52 hostages (in PLAYBOY interview with Yassir Arafat, September 1988 issue). (Arafat had earlier negotiated terms for the

release of the first 13 hostages set free on Thanksgiving Day 1979, and so was a logical choice). No member of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign referred to Reagan as "Ronnie" (the author's own experience inside the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign). This familiar name was reserved for old friends of Reagan's "California Cabinet." Significantly, according to Bob Woodward in his book VEIL (p. 39), some of Reagan's old California friends arranged for Reagan's meeting with [redacted] the French SDECE, [redacted] who, according to the aforementioned 20-year CIA veteran, hand-carried a copy of the French intelligence report on the Paris meeting to Reagan in California in November 1980. b6 b7C

A second eyewitness to the Paris meetings, [redacted] then of French intelligence (and therefore probably the author of the aforementioned French intelligence report) has been located in France (contact the author for his contact information).

[redacted] who according to first eyewitness [redacted] [redacted] was the pilot who flew William Casey to Paris on October 18-19, 1980, told Denver federal circuit judge James R. Carrigan at a bench conference on Friday, September 23, 1988, that he "was involved in a CIA mission (beginning) October 18, 1980 (the date the planes left the east coast for Paris) at which Bush was present" (Rocky Mountain News, September 24, 1988). During the bench conference the Rocky Mountain News also reported that "the words CIA, NSC, George Bush, Saudi Tycoon and arms dealer [redacted] (the 52) hostages, [redacted] (the Iran-Contra [redacted], and William Casey could be heard" ("Gold Dealer Gets 41 Years In Bank Scam: [redacted] Claims He Was Agent for the CIA in Iran-Contra Deal," by Sue Lindsey, 9/24/88). [redacted] appeared before the judge at [redacted] sentencing to argue that [redacted] was being made a fall guy by the Agency to keep him from talking about the Paris flight with Casey and [redacted] witnessing of Bush at France's Le Bourget airport. According to [redacted] the CIA veteran, [redacted] was "Casey's pet pilot," who, according the Rocky Mountain News article, had been trained at the Adolf Hitler School of flight at the end of World War II. [redacted] Denver attorney is [redacted]

5) The second of the three Paris meetings also took place on October 19, 1980 at either the Rafael Hotel or Crillon Hotel in Paris, France, a few hours after the first meeting, at approximately 5:00 p.m. Paris time. Bush had already left Paris for the east coast after the earlier noon meeting. The participants at the second 5:00 p.m. meeting were the same as those who had attended the first meeting, but minus Bush and with the probable addition of Cyrus Hashemi, an Iranian arms dealer close to Khomeini who shipped U.S. arms to Iran beginning

in 1981 in fulfillment of the agreement made at the Paris meetings. Before his untimely death in London in July 1986, Hashemi had told journalists that his own 1981-82 arms shipments were part of the effort to open channels necessary to help get the (52) hostages released" (San Jose Mercury News, 6/13/87, p. 21A; from the Los Angeles Times). [redacted] was told by a U.S. Customs official that Hashemi, who died in July 1986 in London, was "killed by government agents" (interview with [redacted] of 6/14/88; and San Jose Mercury News, above cite).

6) The third of the three European meetings took place on October 20, 1980 at the Hotel Florida in Paris, France. According to [redacted] and Bani-Sadr, the participants were: [redacted]

[redacted] Cyrus Hashemi (the "H" or "Mr. H" in the Tower Commission report refers to him), [redacted] (a confidant of Ayatollah Beheshti's and a long-time procurer of arms for Iran), [redacted] (sometimes spelled [redacted] who was close to the top of Iran's military arms procurement hierarchy at the time, [redacted] of French intelligence, "a representative of Alexander Haig" (Haig had initiated the secret NATO military supply stores program when he was Supreme Allied Commander of NATO from 1974-79; and it was these same stores which were drawn down, in most cases without letting NATO allies know, and diverted to Iran throughout the 1980's pursuant to the agreement made at the Paris meetings. According to the Washington Post, it was Haig who, as Reagan's new Secretary of State, authorized the first deliveries of U.S. arms to Iran in 1981 (Washington Post, "Haig Said to Allow 1981 Israeli Sale to Iran," 11/29/86, p. 1).

7) [redacted] has told the author that, were [redacted] to say that it was he who was the "Iranian emissary" they met with in Washington, D.C. 2-3 weeks before the Paris meetings, "they wouldn't be lying." [redacted] also told the author that what [redacted] said at the Washington, D.C. meeting -- "We have only one president at a time" -- he took to mean that, unlike Carter, a new Reagan-Bush Administration would be willing to approve renewed arms deliveries to Iran upon gaining power [redacted] already knew [redacted] from when they had worked together on a secret CIA mission to remove sensitive Phoenix missiles and F-14 Aug-9 radar equipment from Iran in late 1978). In pre-1980-election meetings with Carter, [redacted] campaign, and Reagan-Bush campaign officials, [redacted] was usually accompanied by one or two Iranian emissaries headquartered in New York to ensure that he was representing Iran's interests and not just his personal financial interests -- one representing [redacted] and the other, when

present, representing [redacted] To test the authenticity of their assurance that a Reagan-Bush Administration would in fact authorize the shipment of U.S. arms to Iran once Reagan-Bush gained office, Reagan-Bush were asked to ask Israel to ship a small amount of U.S. arms BEFORE the 1980 election, which [redacted] did in October 1980 (KEEPING FAITH, POWER AND PRINCIPLE). After the fact of the first pre-election shipment, [redacted] wrote Carter asking for his retroactive "permission," which Carter refused. Infuriated, Carter ordered the pre-election Israeli shipments immediately stopped. But the reliability of Reagan-Bush's promise of future U.S. arms shipments through Israel had already been affirmatively tested and the Iranians were satisfied.

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8) [redacted] a Lebanon expert who served on the Reagan-Bush NSC and who was a member of [redacted] anti-"October Surprise" group during the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign, told a group of University of California at Berkeley professors in late 1987 that, at a meeting of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign's anti-"October Surprise" group in October 1980, [redacted] personally proposed offering U.S. arms to Iran in exchange for a release of the hostages to the Reagan-Bush camp. According to [redacted] account to the Berkeley professors (contact the author for further identifications and contact information), the idea for the hostage-delay-for-arms deal seemed to have originated with [redacted] However, according to [redacted] himself (in a telephone interview with DER SPIEGEL, 8/25/88), it was Senator Tower who had first been approached by the Khomeini emissary and who had put [redacted] on the task of arranging a meeting between the emissary and [redacted] of the Reagan-Bush campaign. Both Tower and Brent Scowcroft of the Tower Commission had been [redacted] And the third member of the Tower Commission, former Carter Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, [redacted]

[redacted]
information about President Carter's hostage plans to Hearst reporter [redacted] who in turn gave the information to [redacted] of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign.

9) The former president of Iran at the time, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr has reported that he received military intelligence reports that senior representatives of the Reagan-Bush campaign, a representative of Khomeini's [redacted] a representative [redacted] and Iranian arms dealers [redacted] and Cyrus Hashemi met [redacted]

in Paris, France in mid October 1980 to formalize the hostage-delay-for-arms agreement (Bani-Sadr interview with PLAYBOY, 4/10/88; interview with Flora Lewis of the New York Times' Paris-bureau, reported in the New York Times, 8/3/87). Bani-Sadr also claims to have documents which he will release to appropriate U.S. Congressional authorities (and to the author). Bani-Sadr has also reported in NEW PERSPECTIVES QUARTERLY that tape recordings were made of a meeting of the Iranian Revolutionary Council in which Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti stated that the 52 American hostages "should be used against Bani Sadr." As the Paris meetings which included Beheshti's representative Jalal Al-Din Farsi constituted a betrayal of Bani-Sadr, who was working to free the hostages, as well as of President Carter, this audio tape may include references to the Paris meeting, its purpose or its plans.

Bani-Sadr has also reported that on about October 10, 1980, not long after the early-October-1980 Washington, D.C. meeting between a Khomeini emissary and [redacted] and [redacted] of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign, Khomeini suddenly changed his previous position that the hostages be released BEFORE the election (OUT OF CONTROL, Leslie Cockburn, pp. 192-193). (At a mid-September 1980 meeting in Bonn, West Germany, Khomeini's negotiator [redacted] had told Carter's negotiator Warren Christopher that Iran wanted to release the hostages BEFORE the election (ALL FALL DOWN by Sick)). Former ambassador [redacted] has confirmed this sudden change in Khomeini's position.

Bani-Sadr has also reported that he received written reports that Secretary of State Alexander Haig had authorized Israeli deliveries of U.S. arms to Iran in late February/early March 1981, arms which were not delivered until July 1981, shortly after Bani-Sadr was forced to leave Iran. These shipments included U.S. Hawk missiles, Lance missiles and Sidewinder missiles and involved Israeli arms dealer [redacted] Iranian arms dealers Cyrus Hashemi (who had been at the Paris meeting) and arms dealer [redacted]

10) Iranian-American arms dealer [redacted] has told the author that he believes that Iranian arms dealer Cyrus Hashemi, who reportedly attended the pre-election Paris meeting, was assassinated by "government agents" shortly after he started saying publicly in mid-1986 that his 1981-82 shipments of U.S. arms to Iran were necessary to obtain the release of the original 52 U.S. embassy hostages.

11) President Carter's CIA Director Stansfield Turner stated in a recent taped interview, that "I do not deny" that the Reagan-Bush campaign negotiated a deal with Iran before the 1980

election; and that "There's something there... You'll be the new Woodward and Bernstein if you can get at it." (Interview with journalist Patrick Edlin of London). b6 b7C

12) [redacted] former SAVAK officer [redacted] at Iran's U.N. mission and [redacted] to [redacted] reports in his book WITNESS (Wm Morrow, 1987, p. 347) that: 1) the Bush-loyal CIA faction persuaded Iranian [redacted] to persuade Khomeini to delay release of the hostages until the moment of Reagan's inauguration; and 2) that the Watergate and Irangate scandals are linked at their very core by the fact that Republican president Richard Nixon accepted an illegal \$60 million "campaign contribution" from the Shah of Iran in 1971, which funds were in part laundered through bank accounts in Mexico (WITNESS, p. 192). It was this precise figure, \$60 million, which Nixon's then [redacted] told Washington Post reporter [redacted] that CRP had "raised," part of it laundered through Mexico (See "All the President's Men"). Only approximately \$1 million of this \$60 million was used for the now-infamous political intelligence and sabotage operations perpetrated against the Democrats in the 1972 campaign by CRP and the Nixon White House which formed the basis of the Watergate scandal. The remainder of the Shah-CRP money was used for a massive campaign of covert operations which "Deep Throat" told Woodward involved the entire U.S. intelligence community and which the Watergate revelations were designed as a cover for. [redacted] in Mexico, the country through which much of the \$60 million of Iranian money was laundered at the time of Watergate when Bush was Chairman of the Republican National Committee and had to be knowledgeable about the source of the money was made head of research for Bush's 1980 presidential campaign. Watergate was therefore the "first Irangate," whose political espionage, political sabotage, and still-unrevealed covert operations were, according to Bob Woodward's source "Deep Throat," "all a Haldeman operation." Press reports ("Richard Nixon Still Has Something to Hide," L.A. Herald Exam., 7/25/88, p. A11) are once again focusing on the fact that Nixon still is blocking release of more than 40 boxes of Haldeman's files from the Watergate period, probably covering the illegal Iranian "contribution." Coverage of the Iran link between Watergate and Irangate may well speed their release.

13) [redacted] of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign's Operations Center, [redacted] has reported in a taped interview to the author and journalist Patrick Edlin of London (July 1988) that the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign's anti-"October Surprise" operation was talking not only with [redacted] the Iranian-American arms dealer

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mentioned above, but also with [redacted] whom [redacted] claims persuaded Khomeini to delay release of the hostages until Reagan's inauguration.

14) Top Irangate reporter for TIME magazine, [redacted] has told the author and other journalists that 4-5 former and active CIA officers have provided TIME with information on the Reagan-Bush campaign's pre-election negotiations with Iran.

15) On November 7, 1986, on the MacNeil-Lehrer Report, [redacted] revealed that President Reagan ordered him on January 21, 1981 to tell the Iranians "the deal's off" unless an additional hostage, Mrs. Cynthia Dwyer, [redacted] was also released. She had been held in Tehran since shortly after the Desert One rescue attempt. (The transcript of this interview is available). [redacted] no longer denies that the Paris meeting(s) may have taken place. The New York Daily News reported on August 27, 1988 that [redacted] stated in an interview that "he could not deny that some 'self-starters' in the Reagan-Bush campaign 'might have met some Iranians in Paris' as [redacted] alleged...").

16) [redacted] the [redacted] among the 52 hostages, has told the author that "a deal was done." According to [redacted] his statement was based on knowledgeable contacts inside the CIA.

17) Senate Majority leader Robert Byrd called on the floor of the U.S. Senate on August 7, 1987 for an investigation into the origins of the Iran arms sales in negotiations by the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign (the relevant pages from the Congressional Record are available from the author).

18) U.S. Congressman John Conyers and [redacted] have undertaken a preliminary Congressional investigation -- under the Criminal Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary -- in response to Senator Byrd's call of August 7, 1987. Conyers' office has copies of memos from President Carter's CIA and State Department during the period October 2-29, 1980 which show that that the Carter Administration rejected Iranian arms dealer [redacted] arms-for-hostages offer and that, unlike the 1980 [redacted] campaign which honorably reported [redacted] approach to it to the Carter State Department, the Reagan-Bush campaign kept the approach of its "Iranian emissary" secret from the Carter Administration.

19) Iran kept its end of the secret pre-election agreement with the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign: The hostages were released just after Reagan took his oath of office, some 20 minutes into

his inaugural address -- a piece of timing according to the Miami herald, overseen by [redacted] who had sent a representative to the Paris meetings. b6 b7C

has 20.) The new Reagan-Bush administration also kept its end of the pre-1980-election agreement to deliver \$5 billion in U.S. and western arms to Iran. Secretary of State Alexander Haig met with top Israeli officials on February 20, 1981 (Washington Post) and, according to written minutes of that meeting, authorized the first Iran arms and spare parts shipments through Israel, beginning to fulfill the agreement. A total of \$100 million (\$100 million) in U.S. arms flowed in 1981 in some 12 plane loads, one of which went down just inside the Turkey-USSR border on July 18, 1981, as reported in the mainstream press; and an additional \$1.2 billion, which added to the \$.1 billion totals \$1.3 billion, flowed from secret NATO stores through various European countries, especially Italy and West Germany, shortly thereafter. According to the Greek newspaper DIMIKRATIKOS LOGOS (November 29, 1986, as reported by A.P. on November 30, 1986), [redacted] was tape-recorded during his late May 1986 trip to Tehran with [redacted] and Israel's representative [redacted] reminding Iranian officials that by then they had received this precise amount -- \$1.3 billion -- in U.S. arms out of the total commitment of \$5 billion (a transcript of this tape is available from the LOGOS). (Significantly, \$1.2 billion was the amount of Iran's monetary assets which were to have been unfrozen under the provisions of the Algiers Accord AFTER Reagan and Bush gained office; see p. 398 of Gary Sick's book ALL FALL DOWN, paperback edition). The figure of \$5 billion for the amount of U.S. arms shipped to Iran (the amount of the Reagan-Bush commitment at the pre-1980-election Paris meetings) has been confirmed by [redacted] World Association of Jews from Islamic Countries (as reported in INTELLIGENCE/PARAPOLITICS, VII:86, 12-13). This may account for reliable reports of a second secret [redacted] trip to Tehran with 23 more tons of U.S. arms in September of 1986 (A.P., November 30, 1986; and REVOLUTION, by former Assistant to the President Martin Anderson, p. 389).

The \$.1 billion (\$100 million) in 1981-82 U.S. arms deliveries to Iran are not in dispute. They have been directly or indirectly confirmed by President Reagan (to Chris Wallace, November 1986), by Vice President Bush (S.F. Chronicle, 1/27/88, pp. A8 & A10), by William Casey (VEIL), and by the Department of State.

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TIME LINE OF EVENTS
OCTOBER SURPRISE STORY

"OCTOBER SURPRISE" was the 1980 Reagan-Bush Campaign's code name for the expectation that President Carter would successfully bring the 52 hostages home in October 1980 to win the election.

Spring 1980 - Brigham Young University professor Richard Beal performs computerized "October Surprise" polling analysis funded by the CIA with surprise results: If Carter brings the 52 hostages home between October 18 and 25, 1980 he will receive a massive 10-percentage-point boost in the polls for a certain victory. (HIDDEN POWER, by Roland Perry; interview with Beal's Brigham Young graduate student, [redacted] Beal later works with top Reagan pollster/adviser Richard Wirthlin. b6 b7C

March 1980 - Beal's boss and Reagan Campaign pollster Richard Wirthlin notifies the Reagan Campaign that an "October Surprise" means that Carter will win the election (HIDDEN POWER, by Roland Perry, pp. 123-124, p. 144).

April 18, 1980 - President Carter makes top-secret decision to proceed with the Desert One hostage rescue attempt. Success requires absolute secrecy. (ALL FALL DOWN, by Captain Gary Sick).

April 1980 - Reagan Campaign Manager William Casey is informed in advance of President Carter's top-secret plans for a hostage rescue attempt (THE REBEL, Professor Donald Freed, November 22, 1983).

April 20, 1980 - Just days before the Desert One rescue attempt, long-time friend and colleague of George Bush and a colleague of Reagan-Bush Campaign Manager William Casey, [redacted] publishes details of President Carter's Desert One hostage rescue attempt in the WASHINGTON STAR, which is continuously broadcast into Iran by Radio Iraq and Radio Iran, destroying the secrecy of the mission. [redacted] a shadow campaign of CIA operatives for George Bush's 1988 presidential campaign (S.F. Examiner, February 29, 1988).

April 24-25, 1980 - Desert One hostage rescue attempt fails. Five of the eight helicopters used in the mission are sabotaged aboard the Nimitz aircraft carrier the day before the mission (SECRET WARRIORS, by Steven Emerson, p. 15). [redacted] and [redacted] the Iran/Contra scandal, are also at the center of planning and execution of the mission (San Jose Mercury News, December 12, 1986, p. 23A; The Nation, June 20, 1987, by Christopher Hitchens). Immediately after the failure of the mission, [redacted] of Reagan campaign [redacted] tells [redacted] in Tehran that "the CIA made it fail" (interview with [redacted]).

May 1980 - Mrs. Cynthia Dwyer is taken hostage in Iran, becoming the "53rd hostage."

August 1980 - The Reagan Campaign asks Richard Beal to work on counter strategies to an "October Surprise" (HIDDEN POWER, p. 124). Reagan Campaign

one of two campaign "October Surprise" groups (Albosta Committee Report, Vol. 1, pp. 47-48; New York Times, October 7, 1980; San Jose Mercury News, April 12, 1987, p. 21A).

September 16-18, 1980 - Carter hostage negotiator Warren Christopher and Khomeini negotiator, Iranian meet in Bonn, West Germany. reveals that Khomeini wants the hostages released BEFORE the election and asks for a list of the U.S. arms and spare parts Carter will release as part of a hostage deal (ALL FALL DOWN, by Gary Sick). Shortly, the Reagan-Bush Campaign learns of the meeting (THE REAGANS: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT, by Peter Hannaford), and panics. The dreaded "October Surprise" appears about to happen.

Late September 1980 - An arms dealer representing the Khomeini regime approaches Senator John Tower with an arms-for-hostages deal interview with Martin Kilian of DER SPIEGEL (August 25, 1988). Tower asks to put the Khomeini emissary together with the Reagan Campaign. Reagan-Bush campaign officials and then meet secretly in Washington, D.C. with and the Khomeini emissary who offers to release the hostages to the Reagan-Bush campaign in exchange for \$40 million in U.S.-made arms and spare parts (Washington Post, 11/29/86; San Jose Mercury News, 4/11-12/87). (Within three weeks, George Bush delivers the \$40 million to Iran in Paris - see below).

October 10, 1980 - Iran demands a list of arms and spare parts Carter is willing to unfreeze upon release of the 52 hostages (ALL FALL DOWN, by Gary Sick).

October 11, 1980 - President Carter sends Iran a presidential message offering \$150 million in U.S. arms and spare parts as part of a hostage release deal (ALL FALL DOWN, by Gary Sick, pp. 368-370). Iran never acknowledges its receipt (same cite).

October 18, 1980 - The opening of the critical "window of vulnerability" for the Reagan-Bush Campaign during which it MUST prevent a hostage release or Carter will win the election. Late that night, Reagan-Bush Campaign Manager William Casey, and Vice-presidential candidate George Bush reportedly leave the east coast for a secret Paris meeting with top Khomeini officials (Rocky Mountain News, October 2, 1988).

October 19, 1980 - George Bush and William Casey meet secretly in Paris, at the Rafael Hotel, with top officials of the Khomeini regime. paying the Iranians \$40 million and making a

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promise of billions in future U.S. arms shipments if the hostages are held until after the election and until Reagan and Bush are in office, ensuring Carter's defeat. Bush leaves for Washington, D.C. after an hour at the meeting. b6 b7C

October 20, 1980 - Second Paris meeting with William Casey, [redacted] and Iranian arms procurement officials, to determine what arms Iran will purchase with the \$40 million reverse-ransom payment and how they will be delivered.

October 22, 1980 - Iran suddenly drops all demands to President Carter for arms as part of a hostage deal (New York Times, p. 1).

October 24, 1980 - Reagan-Bush Campaign [redacted] puts [redacted] full-time on the campaign's "October Surprise" intelligence operation (Albosta Subcommittee Report, Vol. I, p. 50). In the late p.m., a Reagan campaign staffer boasts, "We don't have to worry about an 'October Surprise.' [redacted] cut a deal" (Larry King Live radio, December 4, 1986).

October 28, 1980 - Carter-Reagan presidential debate. In response to a question about the hostages by journalist Barbara Walters, Reagan responds: "I have been accused lately of having a secret plan with regard to the hostages...My ideas require quiet diplomacy, where you don't say what it is you're thinking of doing" (ALL FALL DOWN, by Gary Sick, p. 377).

October 29/30, 1980 - Iranian officials Mohammad Beheshti and [redacted] who had each sent representatives to the Paris meeting of October 19th with George Bush and William Casey, conspire to delay the Iranian parliament's vote on Carter's offer for a hostage release (Miami Herald, August 9, 1987; New York Times, August 3, 1987).

October 30, 1980 - At the early-morning "October Surprise" group meeting, Reagan-Bush campaign manager William Casey boasts that the campaign doesn't have to worry about Carter's winning the election because of a hostage release (HIDDEN POWER, by Roland Perry, p. 153).

Shortly before the November 4, 1980 election - Bush-loyalists at the CIA work with Iranian [redacted] to persuade Khomeini to further delay the release of the 52 hostages until Reagan's inauguration day, January 20, 1981 (WITNESS, by Mansur Rafizadeh, "When the Hostages Didn't Come Home").

November 4, 1980 - [redacted] and [redacted] try to force Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr to sign the arms purchase agreement made by their representatives at the Paris meeting. He refuses, and the decision is made to move

Bani-Sadr out of power before the arms are received (he is forced out of Iran in late June 1981, just before the "big ticket" arms begin to arrive in Iran).

b6
b7c

January 20, 1981 - The 52 hostages are released 15 minutes into Ronald Reagan's inaugural address - timing overseen by Iranian official [redacted] who had sent a representative to the October Paris meeting with George Bush and William Casey (Miami Herald).

January 21, 1981 - [redacted] then Reagan's [redacted] tells the President that Mrs. Cynthia Dwyer, [redacted] and the "53rd hostage," is still held captive in Tehran. Reagan responds angrily, "Tell the Iranians that the deal is off" until she is also released (McNeil-Lehrer television news hour, November 7, 1986).

Late January 1981 - Secretary of State Alexander Haig meets with Ariel Sharon of Israel to discuss U.S. arms shipments to Iran (NEWSWEEK, December 8, 1986), and announces that U.S. policy towards Iran depends on the outcome of Mrs. Dwyer's case (IN THESE TIMES, June 24-July 7, 1987, p. 12).

February 9, 1981 - Mrs. Dwyer is released in Iran and returns home.

February 20, 1981 - Secretary of State Alexander Haig approves the first shipments of U.S. arms to Iran through Israel, with the advice and encouragement of his [redacted] and of [redacted] (Wall Street Journal, December 12, 1986, p. 54).

Late February/Early March 1981 - Israel begins shipments of U.S. arms to Iran (L.A. TIMES, January 25, 1987). Cyrus Hashemi, who was reportedly at the Paris meeting with Bush and Casey, also begins shipments of U.S. arms to Iran, shipments which he later states were necessary to obtain the release of the 52 hostages (San Jose Mercury News, June 13, 1987, p. 21A).

March 9, 1981 - Date of the earliest documented invoices for U.S. arms shipments to Iran by Israeli-owned companies. This same day CIA Director William Casey asks President Reagan for a secret presidential directive ("finding") on Iran.

Of the participants in the October 19, 1980 Paris meeting with George Bush, three are now dead: William Casey, Cyrus Hashemi and Jalal al-Din Farsi. Hashemi's [redacted] and Iranian arms dealer [redacted] say that Hashemi was murdered by U.S. government agents. Farsi died in a bomb blast. The knowledgeable Iranian official whom Farsi represented at the meeting, Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti, is also dead from a bomb attack. Richard Beal, the man who did the CIA-funded "October Surprise" computer study, died in his early forties in 1984.

The only survivors amongst the participants at the October 19, 1980 Paris meeting are: George Bush, [redacted], [redacted], and [redacted] a long-time officer of Mossad, Israel's secret service.

Israeli Sale Said Allowed By Haig in '81

By Bob Woodward
and Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writers

In 1981, then-Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. gave permission for Israel to ship U.S.-made military spare parts and fighter plane tires to Iran, nearly four years before similar shipments set in motion the controversy now besetting the Reagan administration, sources said yesterday.

The arms shipment was intended to help Israel cultivate Iranian military officials who could be valuable in any government succeeding that of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the sources said.

One source characterized Haig's role as granting "approval" for the Israeli shipments worth \$10 million to \$15 million, but other sources said the secretary's permission was more indirect and only indicated by his failure to object to the plan. As the senior U.S. official responsible for the transfer of U.S.-made arms to third countries, Haig's approval was critical to the Israeli proposal.

Haig's assent followed discussions between his counselor at the State Department, Robert C. McFarlane, and David Kimche, who was director general of Israel's foreign ministry, sources said.

Kimche's 1981 proposal to allow Israel to ship U.S. arms to "moderate" Iranians foreshadowed similar discussions he held nearly four years later with McFarlane, who was then President Reagan's national security adviser, sources said.

A spokesman for Haig last night denied that the former secretary had approved any 1981 shipment by Israel. McFarlane yesterday categorically denied discussing arms shipments to Iran with Kimche in 1981 "or anything even remotely like this."

See IRAN, A2, Col. 1

Haig Said to Allow 1981 Israeli Sale to Iran

IRAN, From A1

"The original notion of renewing talks with Iran occurred in July of last year," McFarlane said. "We never discussed arms to Iran of any sort until last year."

The 1985 discussions led to Israeli shipments of U.S. arms to Iran in September 1985, partly in an attempt to secure Iran's help in freeing American hostages held in Lebanon.

McFarlane's role in 1985 was similar to that of Haig four years earlier in that he gave tacit approval without overtly condoning the shipment, sources said. A source familiar with the 1985 McFarlane-Kimche meeting said that McFarlane had the strong impression when Kimche left his office that the Israelis would proceed with the arms transfer.

"The Iranian fascination cropped up and Bud McFarlane supported it five years ago," said one source who has firsthand knowledge of both Haig's and McFarlane's 1981 roles. "It grew out of the hocus-pocus hopes and strategic planning.... It was one of those 'good ideas,' the hold-close stuff done in secret trips by the new administration to show, 'we're different,' than the Carter administration."

Even before 1981, sources said, McFarlane proposed dramatic covert initiatives involving Iran. In 1980, while he was on the staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, McFarlane approached the Reagan campaign's foreign policy adviser, Richard V. Allen, with an Iranian exile who proposed to deliver the American hostages then held in Tehran to the Reagan camp prior to the November election. The initiative went nowhere, sources added.

The first hint of the Israeli proposal in 1981 came in late 1980 when Allen was approached by Morris Amitay, an official with the American Israel Political Action Committee, who asked how the incoming administration would view Israel's shipment to Iran of wheel and brake assemblies for F-1 fighter planes. Allen was noncommittal, sources said.

A senior Reagan administration

official said that in 1981 the Israelis attempted to persuade the United States through intelligence channels to work with the Iranians in an effort to get closer to the Iranian military. At the same time, this official said, the Israelis made it clear that Iran would pay more than the world market price for U.S. arms.

In November 1981, then-Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon came to Washington and proposed the Iranian arms shipments to Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, sources said. "Weinberger put up a red light," said one source.

Sharon then proposed it to Haig, who then had McFarlane handle the matter. The shipments were subsequently made, sources said. The sources said McFarlane had a number of discussions with Kimche and Sharon.

When other State Department officials learned that Haig had assented to Israel's shipment of U.S. arms to Iran, they explained to Haig that U.S. export laws barring arms to Iran could not be properly circumvented by making the shipment through third countries such as Israel. Haig also became convinced after further discussion with his

idea that any American role in Israel shipments would be a liability.

Haig then withdrew approval of other Israeli shipments, according to sources with firsthand knowledge. Haig's permission for the initial shipment was handled very secretly within the State Department and no formal decision memos were signed, the sources said.

In May 1982, Haig said in speech that the United States was neutral in the Iran-Iraq war and would continue to refuse to supply military equipment under U.S. control to either nation.

Despite Haig's change of heart, sources said Israel continued to ship other arms to Iran, as reported by The Wall Street Journal yesterday.

In interviews published in 1982, two senior Israeli officials talked publicly about the role of the United States in the Israeli arms shipment to Iran.

Sharon said in a May 1982 interview with The Washington Post that the United States was informed in detail in advance of the arms shipment and offered no objection.

"We discussed this months ago with our American colleagues," Sharon said. "We said that notwithstanding the tyranny of Khomeini, which we all hate, we have to leave a small window open to this country, a tiny small bridge to this country."

Sharon said that Iranian military officers and commanders might use the channel and that the Israeli arms sales were "a symbolic supply known to the United States. 'We gave them the lists; they knew exactly,' he said.

In a later 1982 interview with The Boston Globe, then-Israeli ambassador to the United States Moshe Arens, said the Israeli arms shipments had been worked out with U.S. consent "at almost the highest levels."

Earlier this month in a television interview, Arens confirmed his 1982 statement that attempts were made to contact moderate elements in Iran. "To the best of my knowledge, they were not successful," he said.

WELCOME
BACK TO
FREEDOM



The 52 hostages return to the U.S. in January 1981: Did freedom ring?

DEAL OF THE DECADE

The story of the Iranian "hostage crisis" is hardly new. It is, in fact, one of the most documented and analyzed events in recent U.S. history. From Nov. 4, 1979, when Iranian students took 65 Americans captive at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, until Jan. 20, 1981, when the remaining 52 Americans were finally released just minutes after Ronald Reagan was sworn in as president, the U.S. public and media were consumed with the hostages' plight. The affair has left an indelible mark on the American consciousness.

But a mounting body of evidence—first reported comprehensively by *In These Times* on June 24, 1981—indicates that there may have been a dark final chapter to the hostage crisis, a shadowy side of the story that was kept from the American public. This evidence suggests that officials from Reagan's 1980 election campaign cut a deal with Iran before the 1980 election—not to get the U.S. hostages back, but to keep them there to ensure President Carter's defeat.

Such an assertion has extremely serious ramifications—and the editors of *In These Times* were, to say the least, skeptical when it was brought to our attention. But we were surprised to learn that most of the facts surrounding the alleged deal came directly from reports in the mainstream media. These reports lacked a big-picture context individually, but taken together they had disturbing and compelling implications. After careful consideration throughout the first half of 1987, we decided in *In These Times* readers had a right to at least weigh the following facts for themselves.

• Reagan's top pollster predicted a Carter victory if the White House could pull off an "October Surprise" and gain the hostages' release before the election. Journalists Jack Germond and Jules Witcover wrote that the

Reagan campaign anticipated such a surprise with a "trepidation bordering on paranoia."

• According to the *New York Times* and a congressional report, the Reagan-Bush campaign established an "October Surprise Group"—an "intelligence operation" headed by Reagan-Bush campaign aide Richard Allen—to monitor the Carter administration's hostage negotiations and formulate countermoves.

• *Washington Post* and *Miami Herald* reports say Allen attended an extraordinary meeting at a Washington hotel with what the *Herald* described as "a man who said he represented the Iranian government" in "early October" 1980. According to the *Herald*, the man proposed to Reagan-Bush campaign aides Allen, Robert McFarlane and Laurence Silberman that Iran release the hostages to Reagan, not Carter, to "ensure President Carter's defeat in the November election."

• According to the *Herald*, all three future Reagan appointees said they turned down the offer. Allen claimed he wrote up minutes of the meeting but later lost them. None of the three could remember the name of the man they had met with.

• Carter aides negotiating in October 1980 with the Iranian government noted a shift in the Iranian bargaining position. According to former Carter National Security Council staff member Gary Sick, by October 22 the Iranians had changed their demands from spare parts for military equipment to cash assets frozen in the U.S. Such a shift would make sense if Iran knew it would have access to U.S.-made arms during the next administration.

• After the Nov. 4, 1980, election, Carter finalized his hostage agreement. No military goods were shipped, and the U.S. returned \$4 billion of the \$12 billion of frozen Iranian

assets.

• The hostages were released moments after Reagan was sworn into office.

• In early 1981 Iran began receiving U.S.-made weapons from Israel. According to the *Washington Post*, these shipments violated stated U.S. policy, but had at least the tacit approval of Reagan administration officials.

Admittedly, the above evidence is circumstantial—it provides no "smoking gun." But it does raise important questions about the Reagan campaign and administration—questions *In These Times* hoped that the mainstream media would investigate more fully.

We were not alone in that hope. Carter, in a letter to writers Abbie Hoffman and Jonathan Silvers, noted, "We have had reports since late summer 1980 about Reagan campaign officials dealing with Iranians concerning delayed release of the American hostages.... [I] have trusted that investigations and historical records would someday let the truth be known." Carter's Iranian counterpart during the hostage crisis, Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, told *In These Times* he had also heard of the alleged deal. Even released hostage Col. Charles Jack Scott told *In These Times* that "I've seen compelling circumstantial evidence."

Nonetheless, in the 15 months following the first *In These Times* report, the U.S. media has, for the most part, demonstrated a distinct lack of interest in the story. Hoffman and Silvers provided the notable exception with a detailed report in the October 1983 *Playboy* magazine. The respected West German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* provided another investigation of the 1980 arms-for-hostages allegations in its September 5 issue.

Both stories added important new details about the purported deal. They showed how

CIA and former CIA operatives aided the 1980 Reagan campaign in its efforts to keep on top of the hostage situation. More importantly, they brought to light the possibility that representatives of the Reagan campaign and Iran may have held a series of meetings in Paris, following the Washington meeting, to work out terms of the alleged deal.

Now someone who claims to have been at one of those Paris meetings has given us *In These Times* a first-hand account. Clearly, arms trader Richard Brenneke's assertions about the alleged deal are not the final word on this very important subject. Accompanying *In These Times* main story, in fact, is an examination of Brenneke's credibility as a source. In the shadowy world of international intelligence and arms trading, motivations for public statements are not always clear—as demonstrated by the Iran-contra scandal. But as with our story months ago, the editors of *In These Times* believe our readers deserve to know about Brenneke's charges.

By Joel Bleifuss

IT WAS MID-OCTOBER 1980. THE PRESIDENTIAL election between President Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan was about two weeks away. An all-important final debate between the two candidates loomed little more than a week off. With so much to occupy them in Washington, Paris seemed like the last place on Earth to find top Reagan-Bush campaign aides.

But according to an American arms dealer and a U.S. intelligence source, Paris is exactly where several leading Reagan-Bush campaign representatives gathered on Oct. 19 and 20, 1980. Their alleged mission: to make

final arrangements with representatives of the Ayatollah Khomeini on a deal that would delay the release of the 52 American hostages in Iran until after the U.S. election—thereby ensuring a Reagan victory. For their part, the campaign's representatives would give Iran \$40 million and arrange for the country to immediately purchase badly needed weapons and spare parts, in defiance of a U.S. arms embargo.

"Satisfy everybody involved": Richard Brenneke, an arms dealer with CIA connections, said he was at the final of three meetings among Reagan-Bush officials, Iranian representatives and international arms dealers. "The purpose of the meetings was to negotiate, not only for the release of the hostages, but also to discuss how we would go about satisfying everybody involved," Brenneke said last month in a sworn deposition to a federal judge in Denver. At Brenneke's request U.S. District Judge Jim R. Carrigan agreed to take his September 23 deposition at a closed hearing. On October 1 Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* obtained a court order to have the hearing's records unsealed.

A senior U.S. intelligence source, who was not at the meetings but claimed access to sensitive files about them, corroborated Brenneke's assertions about the existence and purpose of the three Paris meetings. The source requested anonymity.

Brenneke, in the deposition and in telephone interviews with *In These Times*, contended that the meeting was held to work out a final agreement on the manner in which the \$40 million would be used to furnish Iran with military equipment. The alleged arms transactions apparently violated the arms embargo against the Mideast nation that President Carter had imposed in 1979. That embargo, although officially continued under Reagan, was violated by Reagan's own officials, who approved Israeli arms sales to Iran soon after Reagan took office, in opposition to stated U.S. policy (see accompanying story by Jonathan Silvers).

In his deposition, Brenneke said he attended an Oct. 20, 1980, meeting at the Florida Hotel in Paris at the request of Robert Kerritt, his contact at the CIA. Brenneke claimed to have worked for the CIA on a contract basis from the late '60s until 1985—an assertion the agency denies (see accompanying story on Brenneke's credibility as a source).

Brenneke told *In These Times* that those attending the meeting, which lasted from about 9:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., discussed "the nitty-gritty of what [the Iranians] were going to get, what they wanted to get, financing methods and payment programs."

The Iranians had a long shopping list. They desperately needed weaponry. Not only had Iran just entered a bloody war with Iraq, but Khomeini's military—largely equipped with, and dependent on, American-made armaments—had been suffering withdrawal symptoms triggered by Carter's 1979 arms embargo.

Brenneke told *In These Times* that his role at the meeting was to arrange weapons sales to Iran. He said, to the best of his recollection, he was involved in transactions involving various types of ammunition; Czech-made AK-47 assault rifles; shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles and rocket-propelled grenades, both manufactured in the East bloc; and sophisticated American-made aircraft parts. Brenneke told the judge that he would provide, in confidence, "copies of in-



Donald Gregg: Was he a free agent on Oct. 20, 1980?

and later reshipment of those weapons." Naming names: The Americans present at the meeting, according to Brenneke, in-

cluded William Casey, the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign chief who later named CIA director, and Donald Gregg, who went on to become Vice President George Bush's national security adviser. Also in attendance,

Arms dealer Richard Brenneke told *In These Times* that he attended a Paris meeting on Oct. 20, 1980, during which Reagan-Bush campaign representatives "discussed...what [the Iranians] were going to get...financing methods and payment programs."

Brenneke said, were Iranian representatives and international weapons dealers, including Manucher Ghorbanifar, Cyrus Hashemi, Ahmad Heydari and Robert Benes. Benes had ties to SDCEC, France's intelligence agency. Brenneke said that French "foreign ministry types" helped expedite the alleged deal.

The U.S. intelligence source corroborated much of Brenneke's account of who attended the meeting.

At the time of the meeting, Gregg was serving as President Carter's National Security Council (NSC) liaison. But according to Brenneke, Gregg "indicated" to him that the NSC—which advises the president on mat-

ters of national security—was not aware of the Paris negotiations. Brenneke told *In These Times* he suspected that Gregg, who served in the CIA under Bush in 1976, was "looking around the corner" toward the next administration.

But Stephen Hart, a spokesman for the vice president's office, denied that Gregg was at any such meeting. "Dan has denied to me that he was ever involved in anything of this ilk, saying it is all 'false' and 'absurd.'"

Casey died in 1987. The only public documents of his 1980 campaign activities—records housed in the Hoover Institution at Stanford University—make no mention of Casey's activities on Oct. 18, 19 and 20, 1980.

Further allegations about Casey's visit to Paris come from Michael Scott, a lawyer for an airplane pilot who was recently convicted of bank fraud. Scott, an attorney for pilot Heinrich Rupp, told *In These Times* that his client flew four passengers, including Casey, from Washington's National Airport to Le Bourget Airport north of Paris on the night of Oct. 18, 1980. The private jet, according to Scott, was registered to Fikri Prince Faid bin Abdulaziz, who is now the king of Saudi Arabia.

Rupp was described by the U.S. intelligence source as "William Casey's favorite pilot." Brenneke, who gave his deposition about the Paris meeting on behalf of his "close friend" Rupp, said he believes Rupp was arrested for "doing something the agency [CIA] asked him to do." Brenneke testified that the pilot had been employed by the CIA since 1957. He said Rupp flew planes for Air America, a CIA front, and was still

Continued on following page

Going to the source: the debate over Richard Brenneke's credibility

Last May White House correspondents confronted presidential spokesman Martin Fitzwater about allegations Richard Brenneke had made linking the vice president's office to drug trafficking by the Nicaraguan contras. Fitzwater—like many others in Washington, D.C.—questioned the arms dealer's credibility. "Wasn't he on trial? I challenge you to look up his court case in New York... [His testimony] was considered by the jury, and considered by the courts, and rejected."

But instead of being the victim of disinformation, the White House was the perpetrator: Brenneke was not on trial, in New York or anywhere else. Even Vice President George Bush later conceded that Brenneke was not under indictment.

Brenneke is a controversial man around Washington. Unlike many in the intelligence and arms-trade community, he has cooperated over the past year with reporters in their investigations of such delicate stories as contragate and the alleged 1980 deal between the Reagan-Bush campaign and the Iranians (see accompanying story).

The arms dealer's defenders say he is a reliable source—someone with precious first-hand insights into the complex world of covert activity. But his critics, the most vocal of whom can be found in the Reagan administration, charge that he is a self-serving teller of tall tales—someone who should never be used as a news source.

Brenneke's critics in the Reagan administration and the CIA are so unrelenting in their denunciations of him, in fact, that one might wonder whether there is a coordinated effort to discredit Brenneke.

The White House has announced that it will

to dismiss Brenneke's sworn deposition about the alleged 1980 deal between the Reagan-Bush campaign and Iranian officials. "That's a hoot," said White House spokesman Stephen Hart. "I have dealt with allegations from Mr. Brenneke for the last two years. They have never proven true... He has no credibility."

In *In These Times* asked Hart to provide examples of Brenneke's lies. He came up with what he called "two very powerful examples."

The first: "Brenneke has alleged that he had the vice president's sanction to contact Iranians to discuss arms deals, and that is absolutely false."

But Brenneke told *In These Times* his statements had been misrepresented by Hart. "What I did say was that I had supplied Mr. Bush with information relating to arms sales to Iran in mid-1985 when he was in Portland in January 1986. I never discussed it with Mr. Bush. I never claimed that Mr. Bush authorized me to do anything. I make a very clear distinction between his office and the vice president. I did deal with his office—Don Gregg and Douglas Menarchik." Donald Gregg is the vice president's national security adviser and Lt. Col. E. Douglas Menarchik is one of Gregg's deputies.

The second: "Brenneke has suggested that he had worked for the CIA. And earlier this year the CIA took the extraordinary step of commenting [on his claim]," said Hart. In most instances the CIA neither confirms nor denies the identity of its employees, but "in this case [it] denied that he had ever had anything to do with the agency," Hart added.

Yet Richard Ryan—an investigator for the International Center for Development Policy, a public-policy organization where Brenneke is also employed—called the CIA's denial "ridiculous." Ryan explained that the CIA claimed in a public statement that a letter Brenneke had presented to Congress as evidence of his CIA employment was, in fact, a forgery.

"There is a problem with the CIA claim," said Ryan. "One needs to question where the CIA got the letter of recommendation." He asserted that the only member of the media who ever had access to the letter was a *New York Times* reporter.

Explained Ryan, "The CIA claimed they received the letter from the Portland Oregonian. But the Oregonian has stated that they never received a copy of the letter of recommendation and therefore could never have supplied it to the CIA. The only logical conclusion that one can draw is that this 'forgery' was drawn from the CIA's own files, which makes it legitimate. The only thing the CIA's denial proves is that they were willing to lie about where they got [the letter] from."

Peter Dale Scott, co-author of the book *The Iran Contra Connection* and a professor at the University of California at Berkeley, interviewed Brenneke at length about the Iran-contras affair. He believes the arms dealer is credible.

"Brenneke certainly had something to do with the movement of arms to Iran," Scott told *In These Times*. "With his background, if there was such a [October 20] meeting, he would have been the guy. He would be the logical person to handle the

Continued from preceding page

working for the agency in 1980.

Gregg and Casey's role at the meeting, Bremke said, included "making sure the Iranians didn't fixate on the wrong things, like buying a space shuttle. There was great concern by the Americans that what was sent [to Iran] was appropriate for the occasion."

The Americans also managed the finances. None of the \$10 million the Reagan-Bush campaign provided to the Iranians changed hands during the meeting he attended, he said. "The money was to be dealt with through Mr. Casey," Bremke asserted that the \$10 million passed through several European banks, including the Banque Lambert in Brussels.

None of the other arms dealers participated at the meeting could be reached for comment; Hashemi died under mysterious circumstances in 1986. Reporters' attempts to reach Heydari and Ghorbani—a key Iranian figure—have been unsuccessful. Benes has refused to talk to reporters.

Bremke said he did not travel to Paris with the intention of helping Ronald Reagan get elected. "The reason for going with Hashemi and Benes went to Paris was because we were told that the hostages' release was imminent. Keriti [his CIA contact] told me that it was absolutely imperative that someone pay attention to details and be part of the negotiating team. At that time I didn't know who the team was. But I went. After all, people's lives were at stake."

After the meeting, Bremke "compared notes" with Heydari and Benes. They "came to the final conclusion that a deal had been made, and it involved the release of the 52 hostages in January provided that certain conditions were met, specifically the release of arms."

"A month or two later I talked to some folks in the States at Langley [CIA headquarters in Virginia] and they confirmed my suspicions," he concluded.

Mr. X goes to Washington: The alleged Paris meetings were not without precedent. According to reports in the *Washington Post*, the *Miami Herald*, *Playboy* and *Der Spiegel*, Reagan-Bush campaign representatives and a man who claimed to represent the Iranian government met in Washington, D.C., prior to the alleged Paris meeting.

The reports said Richard Allen, Robert McFarlane and Laurence Silberman met an unknown Iranian representative in the lobby of the L'Enlign Plaza Hotel in Washington, D.C. At the time, Allen was the foreign policy adviser to the Reagan-Bush campaign. He later became Reagan's national security adviser. McFarlane also later served as the president's national security adviser. It was McFarlane who, as Reagan's national security adviser, negotiated the 1985-86 arms-for-hostages deal with Iran. Silberman, an aide to Allen during the campaign, was later appointed to the federal judiciary by Reagan.

Allen said in recent press interviews that in September 1980 an "irresistant" McFarlane approached him with the "ridiculous" idea

of meeting with an Iranian representative. "McFarlane wanted us to meet; he was emphatic and, against my best judgment, I agreed," McFarlane wrote in a 1981 book. In turn, McFarlane described Allen as a "tool," saying his statement was "completely wrong," explained McFarlane. "An individual claiming to be Iranian approached me and [he] was referred [by me] to the Reagan campaign staff."

During their meeting at the L'Enlign Plaza Hotel, the Iranian told the three Americans that his country was willing to delay the release of the hostages until after the November 4 presidential election, according to the *Miami Herald*. All three men insisted that they dismissed this offer. And yet none could remember the name of the Iranian representative with whom they met, Allen said he lost his minutes of the meeting.



Arms business as usual: guns to Iran since 1980

By Jonathan Silvers

Ronald Reagan's obsession with covert activity—a hallmark of both the 1980 presidential campaign and his subsequent administrations—could not have reached the proportions it did without the assistance of the intelligence and defense communities. It appears that the most obliging of these accomplices was the Israeli government. According to Israeli intelligence sources, the Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, has for the past eight years been the White House's favorite vehicle for distributing American aid to causes that are unpopular with the U.S. Congress.

In the circles where such matters are discussed, Israel is known as an aggressive marketer of sophisticated weapons systems. Armed with little more than catalogues and invoices, merchants are routinely dispatched to the world's hot spots, where they peddle everything from Urals to TOW missiles. Prospective buyers sample wares at Israeli arms franchises around the globe. Israel is an "equal opportunity" trader; it rarely discriminates among nations, even when a transaction may conflict with diplomatic objectives.

When pressed, the Mossad has conceded it has exported arms to Iraq, Jordan and Syria—all sworn enemies of the Jewish state. Experts have placed Israel's annual revenue from these sales in the tens of billions of dollars.

That Israel has managed to conceal such commerce is a tribute to its agents' ingenuity. "The Israelis are understandably reluctant to have their arms trade scrutinized, and the U.S. has generally honored their privacy," said Gary Sick, former National Security Council (NSC) staff member in the Carter administration.

Even when caught red-handed selling U.S. weapons to the Iranians in 1986, Israel managed to avoid international censure. Preoccupied with the notion of criminality in the White House, the congressional Iran-contra investigations diminished or neglected to explore Israel's participation in the arms-for-hostages initiative.

"Our mandate forced us to focus on arms deals in 1985 and 1986," said Arthur Liman, counsel for the Senate Select Committee. "There was evidence of Israeli involvement in other years, but we didn't have the time to pursue it, or the ability to expand the mandate."

So while it was generally accepted that Israel had been Reagan's most serviceable ally, the enormity of its arms trade has yet to be recognized by the U.S. Congress. Breaking the embargo: Israeli arms merchants were among the first beneficiaries of the Islamic revolution. Shortly after the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was attacked and 65 Americans were taken hostage in November 1979, then-President Jimmy Carter declared a formal embargo against Iran. All shipments were halted and all Iranian assets under American management

were frozen. American allies were asked to suspend trade and exert economic pressures of their own against Iran.

Iran's impassioned civilians were able to endure the privation. But without a steady flow of American-made military supplies, the Ayatollah's army—which under the shah had been trained and supplied exclusively by the U.S.—was rapidly approaching paralysis. In desperation, Khomeini's lieutenants contacted Israel in spring 1980 and offered to purchase—at inflated prices—American-made ammunition and spare parts. The Israelis accepted the offer, and secretly arranged to deliver 20 tons of non-lethal material (aircraft tires, brake assemblies, fuses, etc.) to Tehran.

Carter first learned of these negotiations in late June 1980, when he received an urgent communique from then-Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Begin informed Carter that Israel had delivered one plane load of prohibited parts to Iran. Unless Carter objected, Begin wanted to continue trading; the relationship was immensely profitable.

"Carter was astonished," recalled Sick. "The Israelis were pulling at risk their whole military supply relationship with the U.S. We sent a strong message back to Begin that any sales to Iran would be dangerously counterproductive to U.S. interests." Business is business: Chastised, the Is-

raelis promised to honor the U.S. embargo. Three months later, however, they quietly resumed arms sales after the start of the Iran-Iraq war. "On September 24 [1980], two days after the Iraq invasion, Israel came knocking on my door," said Abolhassan Bani Sadr, former president of Iran. "We accepted their conditions; we had no choice."

Arms dealer Houshang Lavi also witnessed the Israeli hard-sell. "On two occasions—the minute the shah was overthrown and the minute the Iraq war began—Israel was ferrying supplies to Tehran," he said. "The agents had many channels, sometimes making deliveries via Portugal, Italy, China. But always the Israelis were involved."

According to Eliahu Porah, former military adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shami, Israel rationalized its covert efforts as means of self-preservation. "Because if the Iraqis win, we will find the Soviets on the border with Iran." By strengthening the Iranian military, Israel could repel Iraq—a long-standing adversary—without sacrificing its own troops.

As the Iran-Iraq war intensified in 1980, Iran depended upon Israel and its black market to supplement its dwindling military inventory. The Israelis, meanwhile, were becoming increasingly hesitant about violating the U.S. embargo. Israel later

Let's make a better deal: Former Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr told *Playboy* he received intelligence reports that the Iranian at that Washington meeting was an envoy for Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Iranian parliament who would later negotiate the 1985-86 arms-for-hostages deal with McFarlane.

Bani-Sadr said that Rafsanjani sent the envoy to propose a deal that was better for Iran than the one being offered by the Carter administration. Bani-Sadr added that he believed Reagan-Bush campaign officials embraced the envoy's proposal. Before returning to Iran, the envoy met with senior campaign advisers, according to Bani-Sadr.

The former Iranian leader said he received reports that one of these subsequent meetings was held in Paris in the two weeks before the election—a claim that supports three earlier allegations.

More circumstantial evidence giving credence to allegations of the Paris meetings comes from *All Fall Down* by Gary Sick, Carter's NSC expert on Iran. In the book Sick claimed that on Oct. 22, 1981—two days after the last of the purported Paris meetings—Iran changed its negotiating position with Carter officials. Sick maintained that earlier, in October the Iranians had demanded American weapons and spare parts, but the Oct. 22 Iran specifically limited its demand to cash assets. "This occurred because Iran had been guaranteed another source of U.S. arms," an Iranian journalist told *Playboy*.

Allen, who had previously vehemently de-

nied that there ever was a Paris meeting, recently conceded to Lars-Erik Nelson of the *New York Daily News* that some "self-starters [in the Reagan-Bush campaign] might have met some Iranian contacts in Paris." But Allen insisted that no such meeting was authorized by the campaign.

Broken laws? Whether it involved "self-starters" or top campaign officials, any 1980 deal between Reagan-Bush representatives

and Iranian officials raises questions about violations of U.S. law.

"Clearly, the Logan Act is applicable in this situation," said Richard Falk, expert in international law at Princeton University. The act forbids private citizens from engaging in diplomatic negotiations with foreign governments. Other legal experts supported Falk's opinion.

Falk also said that an arrangement to keep

the hostages in Iran would raise questions of legal accountability. "One could make the case that if a delay in the release of the hostages did take place, the persons arranging the delay would have been accomplices to the crime," he said.

But there are questions beyond whether the law was broken. A deal between a U.S. political campaign and a hostile foreign government aimed at changing the course of a presidential election would undermine the democratic systems of the West.

Ronald Reagan praised that system during his inaugural address on Jan. 20, 1981. Referring to the "orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution," the new president noted that "in the eyes of many in the world, this every-four-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle."

Even for Americans, the transfer of power in 1981 had a miraculous feel. Moments after Reagan took the oath of office, 52 American hostages were suddenly on their way home from Iran after 444 days in captivity.

But in the cynical and calculated world of international diplomacy, real miracles are rare. As a growing body of evidence suggests, Reagan's eventual inauguration day—and the circumstances leading to it—had little to do with Providence.

Kevin Sanders, a former Cable Network News reporter, served as a special investigator for *These Times* on this report. Miles Harvey, Jim Naureckas, Rees Pendleton and Jonathan Silvers also contributed to the story.



(Left) Reaching out, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin liked doing business with Iran.

(Right) Touching someone: The Ayatollah Khomeini liked buying arms through Israel.

versed its policy "We eventually decided not to sell any American things to Iran," said Porat.

But Israel was not about to abandon its best customer entirely. The decision to stop exporting American arms did not preclude the covert sale of Israeli-made supplies, the majority of which are indistinguishable from—and interchangeable with—their patented American counterparts. Or, as arms dealer Lavi put it, "A radar tracking device is a radar tracking device, no matter who makes it."

Like any nation involved in clandestine operations, Israel values its deniability, and goes to great lengths to protect it. "Israel has a rather ingenious setup as far as arms sales are concerned," said Sick. "When its salesmen do something that furthers ideological or political objectives, they are officially certified Israeli agents—government emissaries. And when Israel wants to dissociate itself from them, these same dealers are suddenly independent, all official ties severed. The fact is, they all work for Israel."

From May 1980 until Reagan's inauguration in 1981, Israeli arms dealers, official or otherwise, delivered a large amount of U.S. supplies to Tehran through Portugal, Italy and other accommodating ports without attracting the attention of the Carter administration. Bani-Sadr said that by playing fast and loose with export rules, Israel did roughly \$50 million to \$100 million worth of business with Bani-Sadr's administration, which ended in June 1981.

Changing of the guard: The dramatic change in the American political climate following Reagan's inauguration—chiefly a by-product of the hostages' release in Tehran—

emboldened Israel. Within months, then-Defense Minister Ariel Sharon formally proposed U.S. arms sales to Iran—via the Israeli conduit—to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Weinberger dismissed the idea, noting that such sales directly opposed stated administration policy.

Apparently undaunted, Sharon offered a similar initiative to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, pitching it as a means of befriending alleged Iranian "moderates."

Sharon evidently found some support within the White House. By July 1981 Reagan's Senior Interdepartmental Group (SIG) had reevaluated its hard-line position and found it wanting. SIG eventually recommended that the U.S. quietly encourage shipments of military supplies to Iran by willing third parties. "It was an experimental program," said one senior NSC staff member. "We anxiously awaited the result."

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Haig reluctantly approved Sharon's plan in November 1981 at the urging of then-policy analysts Robert McFarlane and Michael Ledeen. CIA Director William Casey later explained to journalist Bob Woodward, "The initiative seemed credible to us, based on the future, post-Khomeini era."

With the State Department's acquiescence, Israeli dealers began working overtime, placing orders and making deliveries

No one is certain just how much aid the "moderates" received, but it has been widely reported that billions of dollars worth of sophisticated American military supplies—artillery, TOWs, Hawk missiles, F-4 and F-5 parts—reached Tehran by the time the Iran-contra scandal broke in November 1986.

Sharon had an ulterior motive in soliciting White House support. If Israel could become the sole conduit for U.S. weapons in the Mideast, diplomatic ties between Arab nations and the U.S. would likely suffer. Israel would effectively assure its primacy as America's only strategic ally in the region.

Throughout its first term, the Reagan administration regularly denied that it had anything to do with the resurrection of Iran's military. But in a May 1982 interview with the *Washington Post*, Sharon said that the White House had been informed in scrupulous detail of Israel's impending sales to Iran and had raised no objections. Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arens confirmed this to the *Boston Globe*, noting that "the sales had been worked out with the U.S. government consent at almost the highest levels."

In fact, Reagan's Senior Interdepartmental Group agreed in July 1981 that the U.S. should subtly encourage third-party arms sales to Iran as a way of advancing American interests in the Persian Gulf. Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Bobby Ray Inman has

said that the CIA monitored Israeli arms shipments to Iran in 1981 and 1982 for the National Security Council. And the U.S. Customs Service reportedly looked the other way when restricted supplies were bound for Iran.

Out of the loop: Nonetheless, it was easy for the White House to feign ignorance. Although eager for Iranian business, the Israelis were discreet. Covert arms sales rarely attracted public attention, and when they did, the U.S. and Israel dismissed them as trivial. On July 20, 1981, a cargo plane returning to Tel Aviv from Tehran via the northern route strayed into Soviet airspace and was shot down by a squadron of MiG-25s. In the aftermath, it was discovered that the plane had been ferrying \$30 million worth of American-made M-48 tank parts and ammunition to Iran. The Israeli government denied any involvement in the incident, but several Israeli officials quietly conceded that their agents had commissioned similar flights. The U.S. publicly expressed shock, but privately continued to encourage Israeli shipments.

In 1981, however, Iranian-sponsored terrorist attacks led the Reagan administration to reconsider its clandestine Mideast policy. Rather than mollify the Ayatollah, four years of covert arms sales had invigorated his wrath. In a quixotic effort to shut the floodgates from the U.S. and Israel, the White House launched Operation Staunch. Arms dealers who for years had shipped restricted weapons to Iran with impunity were suddenly arrested. Branded traitors, they were charged with conspiring to violate both the embargo against arms sales to Iran and the U.S. national interest.

Which is ironic, because one year later Ronald Reagan would call such activity patriotic.

Jonathan Silvers is a political reporter based in New York. He is currently working on an account of the 1988 presidential election entitled *Preserving Disorder*.

IN THESE TIMES, OCT. 12-18, 1988 13

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

12/23/88

Date of transcription _____ b6
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[redacted] was contacted at [redacted]
[redacted] telephone number [redacted] and was
advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents by a display
of credentials.

[redacted]
[redacted] The
results of the investigation by [redacted] were leaked to the
press by [redacted] for Senator HUMPHREY.
JACK ANDERSON wrote an article concerning the report, and as a
result of the article, [redacted] an American-Iranian
newspaperman contacted [redacted] for further information. This
occurred during May of 1980.

In August of 1980, an Iranian national, name
unrecalled, contacted [redacted] at the office he shared with
[redacted]

[redacted] discussed the matter, and they
decided [redacted] should inform Senator TOWER.

Afterwards, Senator JOHN TOWER instructed [redacted]
[redacted]

12/23/88

DN 161A-2489

Investigation on SA [redacted] and
SA [redacted] FLP/tjb

File #

12/23/88

by _____ Date dictated _____

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Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On _____ Page _____

Moreover, he was told that he should deal with the CARTER administration in that this was prior to the election of 1980.

██████████ advised that he does not know whether the Iranian contacted the White House staff. He further advised he did not contact the White House concerning the incident, nor does he know of anyone who did. He advised that ██████████

John Goodwin Tower

Issue 6: Allegations that Senator Tower improperly directed a staff member to insert language into a defense authorization bill that favored a particular defense contractor.

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[redacted] was the subject of a background investigation conducted by the FBI in September, 1986, in connection with his appointment to his current position. During the course of that investigation, it was alleged that [redacted] may have changed the language in a defense authorization bill after it had already been approved by the SASC. The proposed legislation concerned the procurement of 120mm mortars. Enclosed are copies of summary memorandum dated September 10, 1986 which contains the results of interviews relative to that allegation, as well as the interviews of Senators Tower, [redacted] and Goldwater as well as the interview of [redacted]. Also enclosed is a letter dated October 2, 1986 to The Honorable Barry Goldwater, Chairman, SASC, from John R. Bolton, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, which states that the United States Attorney, District of Columbia, "determined that criminal prosecution of [redacted] was not warranted."

[redacted] was reinterviewed during the course of this investigation concerning this issue, the results of which are incorporated in this summary memorandum.

Barry Goldwater, former United States Senator from Arizona, advised that he had no knowledge of Senator Tower being involved in the addition of language to the defense authorization bill regarding the procurement of mortars for the Army, but added "I'm not saying he didn't." He also commented that a considerable amount of time had passed since the incident had occurred.

On January 5, 1989, contact with Senator John Warner's office assistant disclosed that Senator Warner is unavailable for interview regarding this issue.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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[redacted] after being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and that he was being reinterviewed regarding additional matters arising in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's background investigation of JOHN GOODWIN TOWER, provided the following information:

Regarding the Defense Authorization Act of 1985, and in particular a change in the language of the section regarding the United States Army's purchase of 120mm mortars, he advised that it is not unusual for changes in language to be inserted by either of the two Armed Services Committees or their staffs, the requirement being that all the members initial off on the changes finding their way into the eventual final draft.

The interviewee advised that certain factions of the Army felt that the ground troops were being "short shrifted" with respect to the Reagan build up, in that F-16 Aircraft and Apache Helicopters were being ordered at a time that the ground troops were still utilizing a mortar that had been used in the Korean War. It was felt that there was a need to modernize the mortar inventory, and at least from the staff of the Senate side, it was recognized that an entirely new system would require years of development, where as several countries, for example France, Israel, Spain, and Switzerland, had "off the shelf" mortar systems that would suffice, simultaneously alleviating the need to budget the development cost and the design development time which would be required by a new United States system. As the discussion over the method to modernize the mortar inventory had gone on for some time, the thrust of the new language was to say "look, Secretary of the Army, make a decision on this issue," the choices being constrained to currently available systems. The interviewee related that subsequently at the request of the Army for additional time, Senator Goldwater drafted a letter to the Army advising that they could take whatever time required to make the decision. He related that normally a senator cannot write such a letter, overriding what is in the law, but that since the issue was at that time not controversial, the Senator's decision was not challenged.

Investigation on 1/5/89 at Arlington, Virginia File # WMFO 161-19411

by SA [redacted] and [redacted] :bw
dictated 1/5/88

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED]

, On 1/5/89, Page 2

The Interviewee related that it was [REDACTED] [REDACTED] constraining the Army to select a contractor no later than February 1, 1985, and that this decision did not overly constrain the competitive process among the contractors as a "very robust competition" ensued. Regarding the selection of February 1, for the constraint, he advised that the budgeting process for the subsequent year begins in February or March, the budget being presented to the President in January. Thus the date placed into the law was not really arbitrary, but designed to coincide with the time the various committees begin their meetings and mark up. Additionally, the two Armed Services Committees did not have to fund the project if the Army didn't submit its proposal, thus the responsibility for the selection for the mortar contractor was in the Army's hands, and the time frame constrained only by their own decision-making process.

He stipulated that the appointee's only involvement in this process was agreeing to the position promulgated by his staff, and that the appointee had no original input regarding the decision. He opined that, as this was one of about three thousand issues in the Defense Authorization Act of 1985, the appointee would probably not even recall the incident. The interviewee advised that neither the appointee nor anyone else involved in the decision-making process regarding constraining the Army to select its mortar contractor by February 1, 1985, stood to benefit from the constraint. He related that there were no alleged or asserted gratuities involved, nor were any future consulting opportunities realized or lost. The interviewee at no time recalls advising Senator WARNER [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to add the language concerning the 120mm mortar date constraint to the Act.

Regarding the MELVYN PAISLEY nomination to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research, Engineering and Systems, he describes as "preposterous" the assertion that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] directed anyone on the Armed Services Committee, to include [REDACTED] the appointee, to withhold derogatory information regarding PAISLEY, developed during the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Special Inquiry, from the members of the Senate Armed Service Committee, or from the Senate during their confirmation hearings. He advised that there was "absolutely" no adverse information transmitted to the appointee, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] or any other member of the committee, regarding PAISLEY. The committee had asked for, but was refused, the raw Federal Bureau of Investigation data because there was no need for it.

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Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 1/5/89, Page 3

Regarding PAISLEY, he commented "TOWER didn't know PAISLEY; none of us knew who he was." He iterated that neither he nor the appointee or _____ to his knowledge, were ever approached by either _____ regarding PAISLEY.

_____ He recalls reading in the newspaper some time ago that _____

_____ His comment regarding that letter was "that's just nonsense; the letter would have come to _____ there was no such letter." He continued that there is no such letter in his files nor record of any such letter in Committee files. The interviewee related that as a matter of routine, a derogatory letter concerning an appointee would be routed to the chairman and then subsequently to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He advised that a copy would be placed in an appointee's nomination file, a file which contains financial disclosure forms and other information required by the Senate Armed Services Committee. When queried as to what would happen to a derogatory letter received by the Senate Armed Services Committee regarding an individual whose name was not at that point placed in nomination, he related that such a letter would be placed in a "subject" file under the individual's name coming to light during any subsequent nomination.

He advised that as a practical matter, if derogatory information was received regarding a Presidential appointee, this information would have been passed through the Chairman to the White House Counsel's Office, and subsequently to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Regarding derogatory information concerning PAISLEY, he related that he heard none until about 1986 when he heard "some crazy thing about his killing his first wife or being involved in something like that," an assertion which he thought to be "preposterous." He does not recall, from where he heard this information.

The interviewee stipulated that neither he, nor the appointee or _____ to his knowledge, ever received any direction to hold back any information regarding PAISLEY and that neither he, nor the appointee or _____ to his knowledge, received any letters from any of _____ or from a _____

John Goodwin Tower

Issue 7: Senator Tower's knowledge of derogatory information concerning the nomination of Melvyn Paisley as Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

[redacted] (Protect Identity) [redacted]
[redacted] provided a copy of a letter dated [redacted] to Senator Tower, SASC, in which [redacted] opposed the appointment of Mr. Melvyn Paisley for Undersecretary of the Navy (sic). That letter set forth allegations that Mr. Paisley had taken bribes.

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[redacted] also provided a copy of a letter of response, dated [redacted] from [redacted]
[redacted] Copies of those letters are attached.

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[redacted] New York, New York, and [redacted]
[redacted] Wichita, Kansas, were interviewed concerning this issue, the results of which are incorporated in this summary memorandum. [redacted] whose interview is set forth on pages 49 through 51, was also interviewed concerning this issue.

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[redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and that he was being interviewed regarding the background investigation of JOHN GOODWIN TOWER. [redacted] provided the following information:

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[redacted] was asked whether he was familiar with a letter directed to Senator TOWER, who was then Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, [redacted] dated [redacted] containing derogatory information regarding MELVIN R. PAISLEY, who was being considered for a position as the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for Research, Engineering and Systems. [redacted] replied that he first heard of the letter, through press accounts, where he saw a reference made to it. He personally did not recall the letter. The interviewing agents then allowed [redacted] to review the said letter as well as [redacted] to the letter. After reviewing both the letter from [redacted] and [redacted] to her letter, [redacted] was still unable to recollect the letter.

[redacted] advised that it was not unusual for [redacted] Chairman, JOHN TOWER. [redacted] many such letters, and advised that the letter in question, appeared to be directed to TOWER, before PAISLEY'S name was submitted for nomination.

When asked what the normal procedure for such incoming correspondence was at that time, [redacted] advised that the letter normally would have been filed both chronologically and by subject. These were known commonly as "the correspondence files." [redacted] would then subsequently be copied and a carbon would also be filed. If a derogatory correspondence was received regarding a pending nominee, it would be brought to the attention of the Committee and the Committee Chairman. If the information contains derogatory information concerning someone who is not presently up for nomination, it would not be submitted to the Committee or forwarded to the Committee Chairman. [redacted] further advised that shortly after [redacted] correspondence directed to [redacted] dated [redacted] he left his post as [redacted] To the best of [redacted]

Investigation on 1/5/89 at Arlington, Virginia File # WMFO 161A-19411

by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] :ang Date dictated 1/5/89

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED], On 1/5/89, Page 2

knowledge, this information was never forwarded to Senator TOWER or to the Committee. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] When asked whether derogatory information contained in a subject's file would be retrieved and sent to the Committee, when the subject's name was submitted for nomination, [REDACTED] advised that it should have been retrieved, but since [REDACTED] he could not recall whether the letter in question was ever retrieved. He further stated that it is not unusual for the Committee to get letters of all types, both critical and favorable, regarding appointees or potential appointees. When asked whether [REDACTED] any other letters, specifically one from [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] responded in the negative. He further advised that to the best of his knowledge, TOWER was not familiar with any negative or derogatory information regarding PAISLEY, during that time period.

In retrospect, after seeing PAISLEY'S name appear in the media, [REDACTED] recalled that PAISLEY had received a favorable recommendation from Senator JACKSON, who was a member of the Committee, at the time. This recommendation would have been a major factor in the minds of both Senator TOWER, and the other Committee members, while reviewing the recommendation. [REDACTED] could provide no other further pertinent information.

FD-302 (REV. 3-10-82)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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[redacted] home telephone [redacted]
[redacted] was contacted at the location of his employment, [redacted]
[redacted] and he advised as follows:
In [redacted] while assigned to [redacted]
[redacted] his section handled [redacted]

He advised that at no time did he personally request JOHN TOWER [redacted] or [redacted] not to pass on any derogatory information concerning MELVEN PAISLEY, who was under consideration and eventually received the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research and Development/Engineering. He stated he was acquainted with PAISLEY in that PAISLEY was a BOEING Official who had worked in Seattle at the same time as himself. He did not socialize and personally considered PAISLEY to be "rowdy", in that PAISLEY was a heavy drinker and heavy smoker.

[redacted] pointed out that due to his [redacted] affiliation, he totally isolated himself from knowledge or involvement with any individuals case taken under consideration for governmental appointment to include PAISLEY'S situation. He had no knowledge of the results of the FBI background investigation of PAISLEY and neither he nor any member of his staff ever saw the FBI results or was informed of the results of the investigation. He was of the opinion that due to the positions held by TOWER [redacted] i.e. Chairman and [redacted] respectively of the Armed Services Committee that they received copies of all FBI background investigations which would include PAISLEY'S. His only knowledge of allegations concerning PAISLEY were those printed in the newspaper and the extent of which he could no longer recall.

He advised that he could furnish no further information concerning the matter and would willingly accept a lie detector examination or sign a written affidavit.

Investigation on 1/5/89

at [redacted]

Kansas City

File # 161A-NEW

by SA [redacted]:jag

Date dictated 1/5/89

John Goodwin Tower

Miscellaneous

[redacted] also commented in her interview on December 16, 1988 that she heard that Senator Tower allegedly purchased an expensive gift for [redacted] with campaign funds. b6 b7C

[redacted] was reinterviewed and stated that Senator Tower does not tell her, nor does she inquire as to how much a gift cost, or as to the source of the funds he uses to buy her gifts. She has no knowledge of him having ever given her any sort of gift which was paid for by campaign funds, and she does not feel that he would have ever utilized campaign funds to purchase gifts for her.

As contained in the December 21, 1988 reinterview of Senator Tower, the results of which were incorporated in the December 23, 1988 summary memorandum, Senator Tower mentioned an expenditure of approximately \$12,000 by the Tower Senate Club, entitled "J. Tower Special." [redacted]

[redacted] were reinterviewed concerning the "J. Tower Special." The results of those reinterviews are incorporated in this summary memorandum.

On January 4, 1989, Senator Tower was reinterviewed regarding Issue 6 and Issue 7, regarding allegations that he purchased an expensive gift for [redacted] and that he improperly lobbied in connection with the "C-FIN Reprogramming Project", the results of which are incorporated in this summary memorandum. Senator Tower comments regarding his involvement in Issue 5 are set forth on pages 21 through 23 of the summary memorandum dated December 23, 1988.

SA 161A-1466
VMO:jlh

ASSOCIATE

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent (SA) [redacted] at Austin, Texas:

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On December 27, 1988, [redacted] was re-interviewed regarding contribution expenses paid for by the Tower Senate Club. [redacted] advised that expenses paid or reimbursed by the Tower Senate Club were for expenses connected with appointee's senate campaign and subsequent campaigning for Republicans seeking election to the U.S. House of Representative and the U.S. Senate.

[redacted] stated that the JOHN TOWER special was an account set up in Dallas and was [redacted] (telephone number [redacted]) said that the JOHN TOWER special account was used to pay campaign expenses incurred in the Dallas and Washington D.C. area by the appointee that needed to be paid expeditiously and would be subsequently reimbursed by the Tower Senate Club. [redacted] stated that the \$12,000 JOHN TOWER special account represented accumulative amount of reimbursement paid by the Tower Senate Club to the JOHN TOWER special account. [redacted] advised that the back up documentation for these expenses were either reviewed by [redacted] in order to assure that they were for campaign expenses and not personnel expenses of the appointee. [redacted] said that he is not aware of any of appointee's personal expenses being paid through the Tower Senate Club funds or JOHN TOWER special account funds.

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JOHN G. TOWER, 2101 L Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. was advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and was further advised that additional questions were necessary in connection with the background investigation being conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning TOWER.

TOWER was advised that an allegation had been made that he [] had added a provision to the 1985 Defense Authorization Act which directed the United States Army to make a decision to purchase a 120mm Mortar within a certain time period. The allegation further states that the only company which was able to fulfill this request was an Israeli Company. [] when asked why he had made these changes, related that TOWER had asked him to do so, according to this allegation. TOWER stated that he did not specifically recall the 120mm Mortar Project. In addition, he does not recall any change in the language of the Defense Authorization Act of 1985 concerning this mortar. In any case, however, a change of that sort could not have been made by one individual on the committee without the approval or "sign-off" of the entire committee. TOWER stated that he did not remember Israeli participation in this particular project, but advised that purchasing such items from the Israelis was not unusual and was something which the Defense Department has done many times over the years.

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TOWER was advised that an allegation had been made concerning the Senate Armed Services Committee's approval of the nomination of MELVIN PAISLEY for the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy during 1981. TOWER was asked whether or not he recalled ever learning any derogatory information concerning PAISLEY prior to PAISLEY's confirmation by the United States Senate for this position. TOWER advised that he did not recall ever learning any derogatory or detrimental information concerning PAISLEY prior to his confirmation by the United States Senate. TOWER was asked to describe the circumstances under which he, as Chairman of the committee, would have been given access to reports prepared at the request of the White House by the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning an appointee in general, and was asked whether he specifically recalled reviewing

Investigation on 1/4/89 at Washington, D. C. File # WMFO 161A-19411
by SA [] & [] Date dictated 1/5/89

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Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 1/5/89, Page 2

any Federal Bureau of Investigation reports concerning PAISLEY'S nomination. TOWER stated that he does not recall ever reviewing any reports by the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning PAISLEY or ever being briefed concerning the content of these reports at that time. TOWER advised that the usual procedure concerning a nomination such as PAISLEY's would have been for the White House to send a "trust me" letter to the United States Senate, a letter which states that a background investigation had been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the investigation contained nothing derogatory. Although TOWER does not specifically recall receiving such a letter in PAISLEY's case, TOWER has recently spoken to [redacted] who then served as [redacted]

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and [redacted] advised that he did recall receiving a "trust me" letter in the case of MELVIN PAISLEY. In the case of a nomination where no derogatory information has been brought to the attention of the Senators, and where the Senate receives a "trust me" letter from the White House, the usual procedure was for the Senate not to review any Federal Bureau of Investigation reports concerning a nominee. However, if there was a reason for the Senate to request the reports, such as the Senate becoming aware of derogatory information, it could request to be allowed to review reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Initially, the Senator would usually be given a summary of the investigation, but could ask additional questions and could be given additional, more specific reports, if necessary. TOWER repeated that he did not recall any review of FBI reports concerning PAISLEY.

In summary, TOWER stated that because no derogatory information had ever been brought to his attention concerning PAISLEY, and since PAISLEY enjoyed very strong support on the committee from Senator JACKSON of Washington State, the nomination of MELVIN PAISLEY was approved by the Senate Armed Services Committee without ever reviewing reports by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. TOWER stated that the PAISLEY nomination did not get either more or less attention than any other nominee who came before the committee.

TOWER was asked specifically whether he recalls ever receiving any letters containing derogatory information concerning PAISLEY. He responded that he did not ever recall he or the committee receiving any letters containing derogatory information concerning PAISLEY. TOWER was advised that an allegation had been made by an individual that [redacted] and

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Continuation of FD-302 of JOHN TOWER, On 1/5/89, Page 3

[redacted] had contacted TOWER during the 1981 nomination hearings of MELVIN PAISLEY, asking TOWER not to reveal to the committee the derogatory information which was contained in Federal Bureau of Investigation reports on PAISLEY, thus eliminating any problem with his confirmation. TOWER stated that he does not ever recall meeting [redacted] and thus does not ever recall being contacted by him. He does know who [redacted] is, but was never asked by [redacted] not to reveal derogatory information contained in Federal Bureau of Investigation reports, since TOWER never did learn any derogatory information about PAISLEY and never did review FBI reports in that matter. TOWER was asked whether he ever directed anyone such as [redacted] not to divulge derogatory information to the Senate Armed Services Committee. TOWER replied in the negative, stating that he had never advised anyone not to divulge such information to the committee.

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TOWER was advised that an allegation had been made that he gave an expensive gift to [redacted] a gift which was paid for out of campaign funds. TOWER responded that he had never given [redacted] any gifts which were not paid for out of his own personal funds. Similarly, he never gave or presented to [redacted] any gifts which came from committees or other organizations, gifts which might have been considered to be from TOWER but which were paid by campaign or other committee funds. TOWER was asked to name the specific gifts which he has given to [redacted] and to state their approximate value. He advised that he gave her a crystal dish for Christmas 1985, a dish which was valued at less than \$75. For Christmas 1986, he made a gift to her of the care and feeding of one particular baboon which remained house at the Dallas Zoo. This gift was valued at approximately \$800 and is considered a donation to the zoo. For Christmas 1987, TOWER gave [redacted] a mink coat which was valued at approximately \$7,000. For Christmas 1988, he gave her a gold ring which was valued at approximately \$4,000. In addition, for Christmases 1987 and 1988, he gave her the gift of the care and feeding of one zoo animal each year. As was the case during Christmas 1986, the animal remained in the Dallas Zoo, and the gift was considered a donation to the Dallas Zoo.

TOWER was advised that an allegation had been made that he was lobbying during the time period December 1987 - January 1988, in connection with the C-FIN Reprogramming Project. TOWER was asked whether he recalls having made any telephone calls to staff members of the Senate Armed Services Committee and to describe the circumstances and purpose of each call. TOWER stated that he is certain that he "didn't make any lobbying

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Continuation of FD-302 of JOHN TOWER, On 1/5/89, Page 4

calls" during that time but he might have called someone on the committee staff inquiring about the status of legislation on that C-FIN Project asking "what's going on down there". He stated, however, that he did not recall the identity of this person who he might have called. When asked if he had mentioned specific contractors in connection with calls made to the Senate Armed Services Committee, TOWER advised that it would be difficult for one to discuss any project such as C-FIN without mentioning the names of specific contractors. In particular, he feels that he might well have mentioned the name Lockheed in connection with this project because Lockheed was not originally part of this contract and had only become part of it later. He does not specifically recall mentioning Lockheed and cannot say why he might have done so except as just stated. TOWER advised that he has never been retained by Lockheed in any paid capacity. TOWER stated that he always made a conscious effort not to lobby before he registered as a lobbyist, and often sought the advice of counsel before making such calls. He cautioned that merely mentioning the name of a contractor, even one with whom he had a prior relationship, did not constitute lobbying, in his opinion.

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12/13/88

Date of transcription

The following information was provided by a person here referred to as WFT-4, who requested that his identity remain confidential and not be disclosed outside the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). For convenience, the source may be referred to as "he" when appropriate. No inference regarding the sex of the source may be made from this usage.

WFT-4 was contacted concerning his knowledge of the appointee, JOHN GOODWIN TOWER and a background clearance investigation conducted by the FBI in regards to TOWER's suitability for a high level position in the Federal Government and access to classified or sensitive information. WFT-4 stated he has known TOWER on a professional basis for approximately ten years. WFT-4 was familiar with TOWER's work on Capitol Hill along with his work on the Committee on Armed Services.

WFT-4 characterized TOWER as being "prickly". He explained that TOWER was hard-driving to an extreme and was known to "step on colleagues toes". WFT-4 stated that TOWER was Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services and was overly strong and unaccommodating at times. WFT-4 stated TOWER did not compromise with his colleagues as past Chairmen on the Committee had or as other Committee Chairmen did. When asked to describe TOWER's personality, he said "cool". WFT-4 could not comment further on this statement or provide further details. WFT-4 believed TOWER was "not very accommodating with opponents of his position" but was competent, intelligent and knowledgeable on defense issues. WFT-4 added TOWER was known to get things accomplished although he was difficult to deal with at times.

WFT-4 knew of no derogatory information regarding TOWER's character, associates, reputation or loyalty to the United States Government. WFT-4 knew of no alcohol or prescription drug abuse by TOWER. He saw no indication of illicit drug use, including marijuana by TOWER nor of TOWER ever buying or selling illegal drugs. WFT-4 could not comment on TOWER's financial stability but knew of no unfavorable rumors or information regarding TOWER's personal finances. WFT-4 believed TOWER to be unbiased against any one class of citizen or racial, ethnic or religious group. WFT-4 knew TOWER to have past

Investigation on 12/12/88 at Washington, D.C. File # WMFO 161A-19411
by SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] :tnw Date dictated 12/12/88
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Continuation of FD-302 of WFT- 4On 12/13/88, Page 2

clearances with the Federal government and believed he should continue to have access to classified or sensitive information.

Regarding allegations of alleged sexual indiscretions by TOWER both in the United States (U.S.) and abroad with U.S. or foreign nationals, WFT-4 had no personal knowledge. He stated he knew various newspapers carried articles regarding these allegations. WFT-4 was not in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1985-1986 with TOWER.

WFT-4 had no personal knowledge of excessive alcohol consumption by TOWER and was unfamiliar with this allegation.

WFT-4 had no personal knowledge of any mental instabilities by TOWER which would include suicidal tendencies.

Regarding a potential conflict of interest allegation concerning TOWER's past work for various defense contractors, WFT-4 stated he has read articles pertaining to this allegation. He advised the articles give an "appearance of a conflict" but no concrete evidence to support the allegation. WFT-4 stated he knew of no one that TOWER would have lobbied on Capitol Hill on the behalf of defense contractors he represented.

WFT-4 was familiar that a large amount of money was raised at a dinner when TOWER was running for re-election. WFT-4 did not know what TOWER did with the money raised as campaign contributions to his re-election. He knew this point to be raised in various newspaper articles which could cause an ethics problem to TOWER if not fully explained. Overall, WFT-4 had no personal knowledge of any illegal contributions to TOWER's campaign or illegal expenditures from campaign funds.

WFT-4 had no personal knowledge of any type of illegal banking activities engaged in by TOWER and relating to the Republic Bank Corporation, Dallas, Texas.

WFT-4 provided additional information to the investigating agents in regard to specific ethical questions relating to TOWER's political career and to TOWER's overall credibility. WFT-4 stated in 1985, a 120 millimeter mortar purchase was placed in the "FY85 Defense Authorization Bill". The language of the purchase got into the bill directing the Army to make a decision on the mortar within sixty to ninety

Continuation of FD-302 of WFT- 4, On 12/13/88, Page 3

days. WFT-4 said this provision was not in either the original House or Senate Bill. During the Spring of 1985, the addition was discovered and [redacted] "got into some difficulty" over it. WFT-4 said that [redacted] allegedly told Senator WARNER that TOWER [redacted] insert the language into the bill. WFT-4 stated he was not sure if TOWER did anything wrong with this insertion but believed it was important to mention since only one company could fulfill the Army's specification on the mortar in question and within the time period specified. WFT-4 could not state the name of the company able to supply the mortar to the Army within the time constraints listed. WFT-4 again reiterated that even if TOWER was responsible for the insertion, "it may not be an improper motive". WFT-4 could provide no personal knowledge of TOWER's involvement regarding this event. b6 b7C

WFT-4 related that in 1981, MELVYN R. PAISLEY was nominated to be the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research, Engineering and Systems). A background investigation was conducted by the FBI where serious allegations (bribery and wiretapping) were made against PAISLEY which did not contain any substantiation. This file was given to the White House in 1981. According to the records of the Committee on Armed Services, the FBI report was not given to them for review. At that time, the Chairman of the Committee was TOWER. WFT-4 stated that in October, 1988, Senators SAM NUNN and JOHN WARNER reviewed the FBI report and issued a joint statement herein attached and incorporated into this FD-302 stating their findings. Also, on November 30, 1988, TOWER was quoted in a newspaper article as having no knowledge of any derogatory information regarding PAISLEY and as receiving no such information from the White House itself. In a June 26, 1988, article from the Los Angeles Times, entitled, "Earlier Allegations About Paisley Told", WFT-4 stated TOWER received a letter from [redacted]

[redacted] The letter was sent to then Senator JOHN TOWER, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee in November, 1981, stating that PAISLEY was known to take bribes. WFT-4 raised the question of credibility and ethics in TOWER. WFT-4 stated if serious allegations were made and either the White House or TOWER (possibly both) knew, whose decision was it not to inform the Committee on Armed Services in 1981 as to these allegations? WFT-4 had no personal knowledge of TOWER's involvement regarding this event.

Continuation of FD-302 of WFT- 4, On 12/13/88, Page 4

When asked if TOWER was suitable for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government, WFT-4 stated he could not personally recommend TOWER to the appointment, although he is qualified in the usual sense. By this, WFT-4 meant TOWER had complete knowledge of the issues pertinent to the position. He added "provided all background investigations work out", WFT-4 believed TOWER could be trusted and that the President could have trust and confidence in him. WFT-4 believed TOWER was questionable regarding his open-mindedness on different positions on defense issues, his position on procurement issues, and the possibility of "bringing excess baggage" to the position such as the appearance of a conflict of interest in regards to past work for various defense contractors and his cool relationship with former colleagues on Capitol Hill.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR SAM NUNN, CHAIRMAN
AND
SENATOR JOHN WARNER, RANKING MINORITY MEMBER
SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE REGARDING
COMMITTEE CONFIRMATION PROCEDURES
NOVEMBER 29, 1988

As we prepare to handle the large number of nominations that will be submitted by the new Administration, we would like to remind you of the procedures we have instituted in handling the nomination confirmation process before the Committee. You will recall that there were a number of press reports this past summer concerning alleged wrongdoing by Mr. Melvyn Paisley and concerning whether certain matters were brought to the attention of this Committee during Mr. Paisley's confirmation as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1981. As part of a review of these issues, I wrote, in my capacity as Committee Chairman, to the Counsel to the President on July 28, 1988, asking that the Committee be provided with such information as was contained in the FBI background investigation of Mr. Paisley prior to his confirmation in November 1981. We undertook this review for the purpose of assessing the adequacy of our procedures for reviewing the background and qualifications of nominees.

The Counsel to the President agreed to provide Senator Warner and myself with access to the FBI's 1981 report of its background investigation. Senator Warner and I both reviewed that file in October.

There are serious allegations in the FBI file, which, if true, would have raised questions about Mr. Paisley's suitability for the position for which he was nominated. We want to emphasize that these were only allegations and that the file did not contain substantiation. However, it is clear that the White House in 1981 should have requested further investigation to help clear up these allegations. As best as we can tell, that was not done. With respect to this Committee, there is no information in the records of the Armed Services Committee to indicate whether this FBI report was either reviewed by the then leadership of the Committee or, if reviewed, whether it prompted any further investigation of the allegations.

We must emphasize that the material in the file to which we are referring consists only of allegations, not proven facts. We cannot speculate as to whether any further investigation might have revealed information that would have changed the Committee's action on Mr. Paisley's nomination. However, suffice it to say that if the information in the file had been brought to the attention of Senator Warner or me, we would not have been prepared to act on the nomination without further investigation and additional information.

But more importantly, our review of this file reconfirms the importance of the revisions we have made in our Committee's nomination process during the last two years. These include: (1) developing and implementing written procedures for handling nominations to ensure a thorough and consistent review; (2) requiring each nominee to fill out a detailed questionnaire designed to ensure thoroughness as well as consistency in obtaining information related to the nominee's qualifications and potential conflicts of interests; (3) requiring the General Counsel of the agency concerned to submit a letter certifying that the nominee does not have a conflict of interest, or an appearance of a conflict of interest, with respect to the position for which he or she has been nominated; (4) obtaining a letter from the Counsel to the President describing the nature and scope of the FBI's investigation of the nominee; and (5) ensuring that the Chairman and Ranking Member, or a Member of the Committee designated by them, review the summary of the FBI file on each nominee.

These procedures ensure that, with respect to every civilian nomination before this Committee, the FBI files are reviewed and we receive a complete report from the White House on the scope of the background investigation. These procedures have enabled us to follow up and resolve a number of problems that have arisen during the confirmation process.

We have directed the staff to review our past experiences and our current procedures and to recommend such changes as may be necessary to fulfill our role in the confirmation process. We welcome the suggestions of the Members of the Committee as we proceed to further strengthen these procedures.

Earlier Allegations About Paisley Told

Fellow Boeing Workers Accused Him in 1978 of Bribing Military Officials

By BOB DROGIN and GLENN P. RUNITING, Times Staff Writers

SEATTLE—Melvyn R. Paisley, a former assistant Navy secretary who is a central figure in the sweeping Pentagon fraud scandal, was accused a decade ago by his own fellow executives of bribing military officials and bugging the offices of competitors when he worked for the Boeing Co., according to retired Boeing officials and documents obtained by The Times.

Two executives became so alarmed that in 1978, shortly after leaving the company, they went to Boeing management to express concern about Paisley's conduct, officials said in lengthy interviews. At the special management briefing they also complained that Paisley charged fees for prostitutes to his expense account, according to an agenda of the session made available to The Times.

"Usually every major company has one guy who does the dirty business," former Boeing executive James Durt said in an interview at his home. "He was the guy."

Ex-Fighter Pilot

The disclosures about Paisley are the latest in an emerging picture of a high-flying ex-fighter pilot with a penchant for testing the boundaries of the rules. His reputation for driving hard and living fast contributed to a career marked by allegations of questionable conduct.

The revelations also raise questions about how Paisley was able to be confirmed to one of the most powerful positions in the Defense Department, particularly after the FBI was told during a 1981 background check that he had taken gratuities including cash and a sewing machine.

During his employment at Boeing, where Paisley spent most of his defense industry career, he is believed to have built a network of individuals whom he used to further his personal business. It was these associations, not necessarily linked to the company itself, that Paisley later allegedly relied on to improperly obtain information in schemes outlined by government sources familiar with the current investigation.



Melvyn R. Paisley

Associated Press

Deputy Was Suspected

One association was with James B. Gaines, whom Paisley hired at Boeing and who later joined him at the Pentagon as his deputy. After Paisley left the Defense Department, Gaines stayed with the Navy and is now suspected of being a major supplier of classified and proprietary material to Paisley, according to sources and documents.

Another former Boeing official, who also worked at the Pentagon during Paisley's tenure, said, "Boeing didn't pay bribes; but Paisley did."

"He's dishonest. Everything he did, there was something devious about it," said this official, who spoke on the condition that he not be identified. He added that he believed Paisley acted on his own in his questionable practices.

Paisley's wife, Vicki A. Paisley, would not accept calls. She said her husband "would have no comment" and referred inquiries to the couple's lawyer, Lawrence B. Raycells, who was not available.

One longtime Seattle friend of Paisley who requested anonymity characterized him as a dashing and adventurous personality, say-

Plainssee PAISLEY, Page 19

Los Angeles Times

PAISLEY: Fellow Executives at Boeing Accused Him of Bribing Military Officials

Continued from Page 1.

ing. "There isn't anything Mel hasn't done." But, the friend added, "he's a real survivor. I'm sure he'll survive this—in his own way."

In his 27 years at Boeing, which included a high-level position as a manager of international marketing, Paisley openly bragged about his exploits, former company officials said.

Paisley was known as a "hard-drinking, two-fisted man's man" who would stop at nothing to get his way, Durst said. He loved to talk, he loved to brag. Mel had certain priorities: women, money and business—particularly women, he said.

"In a drag company, he was a colorful figure."

Durst also said that Paisley told colleagues about bugging a competitor for a military contract in 1970, about bribing U.S. military officers overseas and about hiding payoffs and wild parties with prostitutes on his military contract expense reports.

Doubted He'd Last

Indeed, when Paisley went to Washington to work for Navy Secretary John F. Lehman Jr., former colleagues made a bet on how long he would last.

"People used to laugh and say he won't last six months," Durst said. "As soon as they do a security check, he'll be out. I guess they never did. We never thought he'd last."

In Spokane, Mildred R. McGettrick, one of Paisley's three ex-wives, said she told the FBI that Paisley was "dishonest with money." She said she also told federal agents that Paisley took gratuities including cash and gifts.

Her sister, Mickey Pierson, said she sent a letter to then-Sen. John

Tower (R-Tex.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, which was considering Paisley's appointment in November, 1981, saying that "Mr. Paisley has been known to take bribes" that included a Singer sewing machine from a company doing business with Boeing.

"Nobody listened. To this day it puzzles me how Paisley won confirmation for such a sensitive job," McGettrick said.

Sue Schnitzer, an FBI spokeswoman, said the bureau's background report was turned over to the White House "without comment or recommendation" on Sept. 29, 1981. She would not discuss details of the report. Attempts to reach Tower were not successful.

Paisley, who joined Boeing in 1954, developed a keen interest in Washington after the 1980 elections when it became apparent that Lehman would be the new Reagan Administration's choice to head the Navy Department. Earlier, Paisley had hired Lehman to work as a consultant for Boeing and the two had become good friends. In 1981, Lehman asked Paisley to be one of his top assistants. He ultimately assumed considerable control over Navy procurement.

As assistant secretary in charge of research and development, Paisley would preside over work on such ultra-sensitive technologies as submarine listening and quieting devices, stealth aircraft and missiles, satellite reconnaissance projects and electronic jammers. Not only did the job require Senate confirmation, but Paisley would have to pass a detailed FBI background check for security clearances.

Durst, who has not seen Paisley since he left the company in 1977, spent five years trying to get

Boeing to fire Paisley, and then trying to warn the Defense Department, President Reagan's aides and the FBI that Paisley was a security risk.

"He told executives that he had bribed MAGS," Durst said, a reference to U.S. military advisory groups abroad. He said Paisley used a New York-based shipping company to "launder the cash." Paisley was never charged.

Another former Boeing executive said he too tried to undermine Paisley's move into the Navy Department.

"We tried to tell people—we went to people in the Pentagon—to tell them that Paisley was no good," said the retired executive, adding that he did not know Durst very well and had pursued his efforts against Paisley independently.

He said he and his closest colleagues believed they had to try to prevent Paisley from getting the Pentagon appointment "for the good of our government."

Australian Complaint

At one point, Durst said, a prominent Boeing consultant in Australia, Sir Edwin Hicks, complained that Paisley was so blatant in his offers of payoffs there that Paisley was made persona non grata in Australia.

"He was red-faced," Durst recalled about his meeting with a furious Hicks, who, he said, died two years ago. "He said Paisley had tried to buy people, pay under the table."

In May, 1976, Durst said a colleague decided that corruption was so rampant at Boeing that they asked for a meeting with Benjamin T. Flymle, then vice president at Boeing Aerospace and Paisley's

Figure 444 PAISLEY, Page 23

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PAISLEY: Allegations by Former Colleagues Told

Continued from Page 19

direct boss.
Over lunch at the Hyatt House at the Sea-Tac Airport, Durst used a 16-page typewritten "white paper" he had prepared to make the case for a thorough house-cleaning. Durst said he and his colleagues had already left Boeing and were hoping to win a consulting contract.

Page by page, the paper outlined poor morale, loose organization, incompetent management, poor professionalism and other management problems. But the list on Page 7 was explosive. It was titled: "Deeply embedded corruption."

Durst's original dog-eared copy of the memo shows that Paisley's name, as well as those of several other Boeing employees, was penciled in beside allegations of "prostitution on expense account" and "using expense accounts to cover illegal activities."

Paisley's name also is penciled in beside the heading "Industrial espionage," specifically "wire-tapping and snooping illegally on competitor's facilities."

"I went through all this," Durst said Saturday, showing the memo to a reporter. "The bugging, the bribery, the hookers. And Ben looked at me and said: 'Every goddamn word of it is true.' And he said he'd get back to us. He never did. That's when we found out that he and Paisley were best friends."

Reported to FBI

Durst said he repeatedly requested a meeting with Boeing Co. President Mel Stampen but was refused. He said he reported the information to the FBI in 1983.

Boeing officials could not be reached Saturday. A switchboard operator said the firm's spokesman would not accept calls "on matters of this nature" on the weekend.

Plymale, a former deputy assistant secretary of defense for strategic and space systems, and five other Boeing employees lost their top-secret security clearance when the Defense Department found they had mishandled classified information on the proposed MX strategic missile in March 1979.

Investigators said an aide in Washington, D.C., had transmitted a summary of a top-secret memo intended for President Jimmy Carter to Plymale's office in Seattle over open telephone lines. Pentagon officials said Soviet agents routinely monitor telephone lines to and from U.S. defense contractors.

Plymale and another Boeing vice president also were investigated for destroying evidence. No formal charges were brought, however, and Plymale later served on Ronald Reagan's 1981 transition team along with Lehman.

In August 1981, Plymale died, reportedly of a heart attack, during a fishing trip with Paisley and Lehman.

Durst, now 64, said he and Paisley worked in close proximity for six years, sharing the same secretary, after Durst moved to Boeing's Kent, Wash., headquarters in 1971. Paisley was then director of planning for Boeing Aerospace. Durst was assistant to the vice president of requirements and marketing.

Early Assignment

One of Durst's first assignments, he said, was to go to New Hampshire to campaign for then-presidential hopeful Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson and later put the costs of the trip on his expense account. Jackson, a Democratic senator from Washington state, was known for his advocacy of a strong defense program.

"Two or three weeks later, Jack Anderson writes a scoop about how Boeing was paying for political support for Scoop Jackson," Durst said. "Hell, I didn't know it was illegal."

"I was stilled, I had the stamp on me. So Paisley came over because

he had heard of it. He was laughing. He said: 'Hey, I'll tell you a good marketing story.'"

According to Durst, Paisley told him he had found a new way to get the low bid on an Air Force contract for housekeeping at Patrick Air Force Base at Cape Canaveral in Florida.

'Mr. Squeaky Clean'

Paisley said he had sent an aide to put a bug in a Pan Am office to get their bidding figures.

"Here I am, honest all my life, Mr. Squeaky Clean," Durst said. "And here is a senior man in the company bragging about bugging on a military project. He was very flippant about it."

"When he told me about bugging Pan Am, I was an accessory," Durst recalled. "I was scared to death. But he was very open about it."

Later, Durst said, he needed an aide who spoke Portuguese and Spanish to help on a trade mission to Brazil, and one was provided. "Three days later, I ran into Mel in the men's room, and he was laughing. He said: 'That's the guy who did the bugging,'" referring to the aide."

Durst said he fired the man from his department after the trip for cheating on his expense account.

"Information is the essence of the business," Durst said. "There are good ways to do it and bad ways. Mel, unfortunately, always used the bad ways."

Staff writers Dan Moran in Seattle and William C. Rempel, Robert Gillette, Melissa Healy, Doug Jehl and Jim Schachter in Washington contributed to this story.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/22/88

[redacted] home address [redacted]
[redacted] former member of the [redacted]

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[redacted] was interviewed on December 21, 1988, regarding the appointment of JOHN GOODWIN TOWER as Secretary of Defense. [redacted] provided the following information:

[redacted] was the [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] advised he knows TOWER through their [redacted] and through other governmental contact in Washington, D.C. He is not close to TOWER and does not consider him to be a personal friend. Throughout TOWER'S political life, news media, has heard numerous rumors and allegations regarding TOWER'S excessive use of alcohol and involvement with women. [redacted] stated emphatically he has no personal knowledge TOWER'S use/misuse of alcohol or his involvement with women. He admitted he feels there is validity to these rumors based on the following factors: frequency of reports, reports in the news media, stature/reputation of persons advising him.

[redacted] provided the following names as persons who may have first-hand, personal knowledge of TOWER'S excessive use of alcohol and/or involvement with women: [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted] in 1978, was a [redacted] in Dallas, Texas, who was assigned coverage of the [redacted] to [redacted] over the past few years which indicated to him she was familiar with TOWER and his habits/vices. [redacted] is currently residing in [redacted] and is married to [redacted] a [redacted] for the [redacted]

[redacted] is a [redacted] who resides in [redacted]. He was formerly a [redacted] for President LYNDON B. JOHNSON and as such, is familiar with many people both in and out of government. [redacted] has related stories to [redacted] in the past which indicated he is knowledgeable of TOWER'S personal life.

Investigation on 12/21/88 at New Braunfels, Texas File # SA 161A-1466

by SA [redacted] JDH:jlm Date dictated 12/22/88

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SA 161A-1466

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Continuation of FD-302 of [redacted], On 12/21/88, Page 2

[redacted] also indicated he recalls observing a television news story he believes was broadcasted by an unidentified Dallas or Houston television station many years ago concerning an interview of a bartender at the Monocle Restaurant in Washington, D.C. This bartender allegedly discussed TOWER'S alcoholic consumption.

[redacted] has no reservations concerning TOWER'S loyalty to the United States. He feels TOWER is a loyal American citizen with a strong desire to serve the American public. He considers TOWER to be an intelligent man, however, not particularly imaginative in his thinking.

[redacted] has no specific reason to doubt TOWER'S integrity or moral character except the previously noted matters involving excessive alcohol use and/or involvement with women while married. He does recall TOWER'S name was mentioned in a Congressional Report into the [redacted] matter involving possible bribery and conflict of interest between high ranking United States Government officials and South Koreans. [redacted] believes TOWER was mentioned in this report/investigation, but not implicated.

[redacted] has no knowledge of or information concerning TOWER'S financial ability and offered no comment on the subject.

[redacted] advised he would recommend TOWER for a position of trust/responsibility within the Government for the BUSH Administration. He does, however, have serious reservations about TOWER serving as Secretary of Defense. He personally feels there is validity to the numerous rumors about TOWER'S abuse of alcohol which could possibly interfere in the performance of his duties, cloud his judgment and adversely influence his advice to the President on important matters.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/22/88

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The following information was provided by a person here referred to as WFT-5, who requested that his identity remain confidential and not be disclosed outside the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). For convenience, the source may be referred to as "he" when appropriate. No inference regarding the sex of the source may be made from this usage.

WFT-5 was contacted concerning his knowledge of the appointee, JOHN GOODWIN TOWER, and a background clearance investigation conducted by the FBI in regards to TOWER'S suitability for a high level position in the Federal Government and access to classified or sensitive information. WFT-5 voluntarily provided the following information:

WFT-5 has known TOWER on a professional basis since 1975. Prior to their personal meeting of that year, WFT-5 worked in a Senator's Office on Capitol Hill and knew of TOWER and his efforts in the area of the Senate Armed Services Committee as early as 1973. Beginning in 1983, WFT-5 [redacted] b7D

WFT-5 described TOWER as a very effective Chairman and a competent individual. He was described as articulate with his views and issues before the Committee. WFT-5 said he was effective at forming support behind issues that he favored. WFT-5 added that TOWER often made many decisions strong-handedly, which may have caused resentment in the minds of other Committee members whose input was not directly requested. WFT-5 further stated that TOWER "was a man of his word," who could always be trusted to fulfill promises made and deals worked-out between the Committee members.

WFT-5 stated he could not remember if [redacted] Geneva, Switzerland while TOWER was a START Negotiator. WFT-5 remembered that [redacted] a staff member of the Committee, accompanied Senator SAM NUNN and other Senators, who were all members of the Arms Control Observer Group to Geneva. WFT-5 believed [redacted] could comment further on the effectiveness and professional behavior of [redacted]

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Investigation on 12/21/88 at Washington, D.C. File # WMFO 161A-19411
by SA [redacted] :jcm Date dictated 12/22/88
SA [redacted]

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WMFO FILE NO. 161A-19411

Continuation of FD-302 of JOHN GOODWIN TOWER, On 12/21/88, Page 2

TOWER. WFT-5 knew TOWER received high marks from everyone as a Negotiator, including skeptics, because of his exceptional skill as a diplomat and negotiating force.

WFT-5 continued by saying that TOWER handled stress very well; that he was not a temperamental leader. This was noteworthy considering the quantity of issues and topics that a Chairman of a major Committee must face on a regular basis. WFT-5 stated TOWER was quite knowledgeable regarding the issues in the defense area. No one ever questioned his competence and ability to lead the Committee, but rather had confidence in that leadership. WFT-5 added that TOWER had an interesting personality and that he was intriguing company. WFT-5 stated that TOWER had a professional demeanor and attitude.

WFT-5 stated TOWER was a loyal American. He knew Tower to socially drink but never saw TOWER intoxicated. He knew of no prescription drug abuse or illicit drug usage, including marijuana, by TOWER, and he never witnessed TOWER either buying or selling any type of drugs. WFT-5 had no direct knowledge of TOWER'S financial situation and knew of no derogatory information regarding his finances. WFT-5 believed TOWER to be a fair and unbiased individual who would treat minorities very well. WFT-5 stated that TOWER was suitable for continued access to classified material and recommended him for a position of trust with the United States Government.

Regarding allegations of sexual indiscretions by TOWER both in this country and abroad, WFT-5 stated he made some personal observations that might be construed as indiscretions by TOWER in this country but he had no knowledge of anything occurring abroad. WFT-5 related that at a going away party for TOWER held in either [redacted]

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[redacted] TOWER was observed holding hands with a female employee of [redacted]. They both departed the main area of the party and went into the known bedroom area of Tower's. A "number of hours" passed and WFT-5 saw TOWER and the female together in the general party area once again. WFT-5 did not see when the two came out of the room and did not know the exact amount of time spent by them in the room. He said it could have been a brief, innocent meeting. He was not implying that any type of indiscretion took place but only that one could construe this as a possible indiscretion. WFT-5 gave the names of nine Committee members who were also at this party. They are: [redacted]

WMFO FILE NO. 161A-19411

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 12/21/88 , Page 3

WFT-5 never saw TOWER intoxicated, even in a social setting. He has no personal knowledge of excessive alcohol consumption by TOWER. WFT-5 did not hear anything regarding this allegation in the media or otherwise.

WFT-5 neither had any personal knowledge nor had he heard of the allegation regarding mental incapacities on the part of TOWER. He also had no knowledge of any alleged suicidal tendencies.

WFT-5 did not have any personal knowledge of the allegation regarding receipt or expenditure of illegal campaign contributions, neither had he heard of this allegation from any source.

WFT-5 did not have any personal knowledge of the allegation regarding illegal banking activities nor did he ever hear of this allegation.

In response to a question regarding any potential conflicts of interest in which TOWER may have been involved, WFT-5 stated that he could not answer the question without first clarifying the meaning of "conflict of interest." He stated in particular that he made a personal differentiation between "innocent lobbying" and an actual conflict of interest. WFT-5 stated that the instance he was about to relate involved lobbying by TOWER on behalf of a particular contractor but that he did not want to characterize this activity as a conflict of interest as such. WFT-5 began by saying that a member of the Committee's staff received a telephone call from TOWER regarding the "C-FIN Reprogramming Project" when it was pending before the Senate Armed Services Committee. He stated that this occurred about "11 months before 3 weeks ago," or about one year ago. WFT-5 said TOWER told a staff member over the phone that three companies (LTV, British Aerospace and Lockheed Georgia) had an interest in the project pending before the Committee, and if it was approved, "one or two or three" (companies) would sustain a direct benefit. WFT-5 stated that he believed TOWER was advocating that the Committee approve the project and that he was in effect advocating the position of the Department of Defense. As it turned out, WFT-5 said, the project did not pass the Senate.

WFT-5 related that [redacted] [redacted], called SENATOR NUNN'S Office and indicated that [redacted] and [redacted] during the 1981 nomination hearings of MELVIN PAISLEY, called TOWER [redacted] regarding an FBI report that contained derogatory information against PAISLEY. [redacted] requested TOWER [redacted] not to surface the report to the Committee consequently eliminating any problems

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WMFO FILE NO. 161A-19411

Continuation of FD-302 of JOHN GOODWIN TOWER, On 12/21/88, Page 4

caused by this information. WFT-5 did not have first-hand knowledge of this incident.

Further, WFT-5 stated that he had knowledge that was not first-hand that TOWER [redacted] added a provision to a 1985 Defense Authorization Bill which directed the Army to make a decision to purchase a 120 millimeter mortar within a certain time period. The only company which was able to fulfill this request was an Israeli company. [redacted] when asked why this had been done, related that TOWER had asked him to do it. Further information can be found regarding this incident in [redacted]

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in the FBI's files relating to [redacted] background or investigation said WFT-5.

Finally, WFT-5 stated that TOWER might have talked to [redacted] regarding the MX Missile in support of the Administration's position. WFT-5 stated that this conversation would have been on a [redacted]

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As far as he could remember, WFT-5 said that this conversation would have taken place when TOWER was either a START Negotiator, still employed by the government, or after TOWER left government service.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/22/88

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The following information was provided by a person here referred to as WFT-5 who requested that his identity remain confidential and not be disclosed outside the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). For convenience, the source may be referred to as "he" when appropriate. No inference regarding the sex of the source may be made from this usage.

WFT-5 was advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and that he was being reinterviewed regarding information he provided to the Federal Bureau of Investigation during an interview concerning a background clearance investigation on JOHN GOODWIN TOWER. WFT-5 voluntarily provided the investigating agent additional information regarding his knowledge of TOWER's involvement with MELVIN PAISLEY and information that [redacted] provided to Senator SAM NUNN's office concerning PAISLEY's nomination hearing in 1981.

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WFT-5 advised he received information relating to [redacted] calling Senator NUNN's office from the Senator's [redacted]. WFT-5 recalled viewing an inter-office memo addressed to Senator NUNN. WFT-5 advised that [redacted] called Senator NUNN's office and indicated that [redacted] both White House employees in 1981, called TOWER [redacted] during the 1981 nomination hearings of PAISLEY. [redacted] allegedly told TOWER [redacted] that an FBI background investigation report contained derogatory information against PAISLEY and they requested TOWER [redacted] not to surface the report to the Committee. They believed this would eliminate any problems caused by this information. WFT-5 stated this was the substance of the conversation with [redacted] that occurred on either December 19, 1988 or December 20, 1988.

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WFT-5 advised that Senator NUNN, [redacted] [redacted] were also aware of this information. WFT-5 believed no one mentioned above could further comment on this information.

WFT-5 advised that during his initial interview by the FBI regarding TOWER's clearance investigation, he volunteered this information. The date of the interview was December 21, 1988. He has not done anything else with this information but believed this issue must be considered during TOWER's nomination hearing.

Investigation on 12/22/88 (Telephonically) at Washington, D.C. File # WMFO 161A-19411
by SA [redacted] emb Date dictated 12/22/88

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WMFO 161A-19411

Continuation of FD-302 of WFT-5, On 12/22/88, Page 2

WFT-5 has no personal knowledge or information regarding TOWER's relationship with PAISLEY. He could not make any further comments.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 12/22/88

1

The following information was provided by a person here referred to as WFT-7 who requested that his identity remain confidential and not be disclosed outside the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). For convenience, the source may be referred to as "he" when appropriate. No inference regarding the sex of the source may be made from this usage.

WFT-7 was contacted concerning his knowledge of JOHN GOODWIN TOWER, and a background clearance investigation conducted by the FBI in regards to TOWER'S suitability for a high level position in the Federal Government and access to classified or sensitive information. WFT-7 voluntarily provided the following information:

WFT-7 could assess TOWER on a professional basis. He described TOWER as an affable Chairman who was always accessible to Staff Members. WFT-7 believed TOWER was very professional, serious-minded and dedicated to his job. WFT-7 stated that TOWER was tremendously committed to issues of national defense.

WFT-7, however, described TOWER as a man who gave the impression that he was unhappy. He stated that TOWER suffered from what WFT-7 called "the little man's complex." WFT-7 related an incident where TOWER told him that he (TOWER) was self conscious about his height. WFT-7 further commented on this occasion that TOWER "did not know why he was so attracted to domineering women," probably because his mother had been so tremendously dominating and his present wife was the same way. WFT-7 commented that the way TOWER talked about his mother and wives so openly was rather "pathetic." WFT-7 continued by saying that TOWER always liked to stay seated both at Senatorial functions and at cocktail parties and the like. This was part of that problem he had in being so short. WFT-7 continued that this is why he thought TOWER liked to drink so much.

WFT-7 stated he thought TOWER abused alcohol in the sense that TOWER used it to escape. He loved to drink both at the office and especially at functions away from work. WFT-7

Investigation on 12/21/88 at Washington, D.C. File # WMFO 161A-19411
by SA jcm Date dictated 12/22/88
SA b6 -
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WMFO FILE NO. 161A-19411

WFT-7

Continuation of FD-302 of

On 12/21/88

2 Page

stated that he never noticed any use of illegal drugs and had no personal knowledge of TOWER ever to buy or sell any type of drugs. He had no knowledge of TOWER ever having abused prescription drugs either. WFT-7 had no personal knowledge of TOWER'S financial situation and commented that he was not qualified to comment on that area. WFT-7 stated that TOWER tended to treat minorities with respect and included them equally for positions on his Staff. By every indication, TOWER seemed to be a fair and unbiased person. WFT-7 added that TOWER appeared to be both physically and mentally well, excepting his preoccupation with his height.

WFT-7 stated at this point in the interview that he had knowledge of past circumstances that might have a bearing on TOWER'S suitability for the position for which he has been nominated. WFT-7 stated that he had two instances to report. The first occurred at a dinner in New York City sponsored by the Air Force Association, Iron Gate Chapter, in March or April of 1983. This dinner was given to award an individual for meritorious effort towards the causes of the United States Air Force, and TOWER was the recipient. A hotel suite was given to TOWER for his stay in New York along with a hospitality suite. Most of his staff members and others came up to the hospitality suite (hosted by Hughes Aircraft) that evening around 10:00pm. There was food and a lot of drinking, and everyone was "having a good time," including TOWER. WFT-7 said that around

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[redacted] WFT-7 said that TOWER appeared to be "sloshed," extremely intoxicated and probably had no recollection of the incident. WFT-7 stated that there has been no further mention of the incident by TOWER, leading WFT-7 to believe that TOWER was in fact intoxicated.

The second incident that WFT-7 related took place right after TOWER had announced his retirement from the Senate. The Majority Staff hosted a retreat at [redacted] near [redacted]. It was held at the lodge facility there which accommodates approximately thirty people. Briefings were held all day, then a happy hour, dinner, and finally free time. This turned into a roast for TOWER. There was a lot to drink;

WMFO FILE NO. 161A-19411

Continuation of FD-302 of WFT-7, On 12/21/88, Page 3

everyone was generally having a very good time. At this point, WFT-7 noticed TOWER take the hand of a staff assistant and then walk her into his quarters. This was a large suite that was on the other side of the french doors, adjacent to the screened in area where the party was taking place. The entrance to TOWER'S quarters was very visible to everyone and it was quite obvious all what TOWER was doing. WFT-7 said to [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

After this brief confrontation, WFT-7 decided to go to his room for the night. WFT-7 does not know what actually took place or how long in duration the two were in TOWER'S quarters. There was a general understanding amongst those who observed, however, that TOWER was in there with the Staff Assistant for a lengthy time period; in other words, they did not come right back out. WFT-7 stated that he thought it was "tasteless to do that with one of your employees." WFT-7 stated that the name of the staff assistant was [redacted]. The next morning, [redacted] came to breakfast with everyone and was "extremely chatty." WFT-7 interpreted this as an attempt to explain her actions of the previous night and to salvage the good reputation she had. When asked about the events of the night before, she responded, "Oh, it was nothing; he was cute; we just chatted." WFT-7 reported that [redacted] voluntarily resigned from her job with the Committee in [redacted]

WFT-7 also stated that he noticed TOWER to be quite drunk during the second incident mentioned above. WFT-7 was able to determine this, he said, by observing the "quantity of alcohol consumed and the visible results of his drinking."

These two events have bothered WFT-7 since their occurrence and he has felt compelled to report them. WFT-7 said he is happy to see that such a thorough investigation is being done regarding TOWER.

WFT-7 related that frequently after long or hard days of debate on the Senate floor, TOWER would invite staff members and others from the Committee up to his Capitol Hill office. WFT-7 saw him "enjoy several martinis or white wines" from his fully supplied office bar. WFT-7 believed TOWER drank "more than the average social drinker in a similar situation." During these parties in his office, TOWER "played a lot of mental games." WFT-7 related that everyone knew he had a private telephone line

WMFO FILE NO. 161A-19411

WFT-7

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 12/21/88, Page 4

installed in his office for calls from his wife, LILLA. If that line rang, everyone at the party was to be quiet and he would "lie" to LILLA and say he was not coming home until late because he had a lot of paperwork. This occurred on several occasions during WFT-7's professional relationship with TOWER and is not an isolated case.

WFT-7 stated that he felt TOWER has serious flaws in his character, which is reflected by his use of alcohol and his behavior as a result of it. WFT-7 could not speak about TOWER'S reputation and associates. WFT-7 further said that TOWER'S character problems involving excessive use of alcohol could be potentially injurious regarding TOWER'S loyalty to the nation.

WFT-7 stated that he could not recommend TOWER for a position of trust and confidence with the Government if his problems with alcohol persist. WFT-7 felt the same regarding TOWER'S access to classified materials.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 1/5/89 b6
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[redacted]
[redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agent and she advised as follows:

During the period when [redacted] regarding [redacted] she was going through a stressful period in her life, mainly as a result of [redacted] She could not recall events which occurred at that time in her life. However, she advised that she is almost certain that she never [redacted] to Senator Tower or to any newspapers. She thought that she gave the FBI a copy [redacted] during [redacted] background investigation in 1979.

However, she knew that [redacted] who is employed at the [redacted] phone number [redacted] wrote a letter to Senator Tower and other local politicians regarding [redacted] [redacted] also knew that [redacted] received a reply from Senator Tower's office.

Investigation on 12-29-88 at [redacted] File # SE 161A - b7D
by SA [redacted] *R. Del* Date dictated 1-5-89 b6
b7C

JOHN TOWER, TEX., CHAIRMAN
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J. JAMES EXUM, KENT.
CARL LEVIN, MICH.

KHETT B. DAWSON, STAFF DIRECTOR AND CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 10, 1981

[Redacted]

Dear [Redacted]

In the absence of Senator Tower, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging your recent letter concerning Mr. Melvin R. Paisley of Kent, Washington.

Regarding the position of Under Secretary of the Navy, the Administration previously announced the selection of another individual for this appointment. Mr. Paisley's name has not been received by the Committee on Armed Services for nomination to any positions at the Department of Defense.

I hope that this information is sufficient for the purposes of your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date of transcription 9/15/86b6
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Senator JOHN G. TOWER, Consultant, who is employed through the law firm, DICKSTEIN, SHAPIRO and MORIN, 2101 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., telephone number 775-4789, advised that he has known the appointee from the appointee's

[redacted] days as [redacted] with the [redacted] Senator TOWER went on to say that he would describe the appointee as a first rate young man, and that he would have no reason to disqualify him. Senator TOWER stated that the appointee is "fundamentally a social drinker" and indicated that he has never known him to overuse alcohol; certainly he knows of no narcotic or illegal drug use. Senator TOWER stated that he knows of no biases or prejudices as they might apply to religious groups, racial groups or other special groups of persons. Senator TOWER knew of no threat on behalf of the appointee, [redacted] to the security of the United States nor would he be an embarrassment to the U.S. President.

Senator TOWER was queried as to whether or not he had any first hand knowledge of a situation that occurred in January and February, 1985, wherein the language drafted into a final Senate bill was different than language drafted by and coordinated by the Senate Armed Services Committee. This particular bill was said to have to do with contract agreements regarding the manufacturer of 120 millimeter mortars of Israeli design. Senator TOWER responded by saying that he left the Senate on January 3, 1985. Senator TOWER stated that he has remained "plugged in" to the Armed Services Committee and if anything such as this would have happened, "of any significance," and it were inappropriate, certainly it would have come to his attention.

At the present time, so far as he knows, there is no opposition from any of the Armed Services Committee membership. Additionally, he, Senator TOWER, had something to do with "putting in a good word" for the appointee.

Investigation on 9/8/86 at Washington, D.C. Washington Field Office
File # 161B-14655
by SA [redacted] RWT:amw Date dictated 9/8/86

Continuation of FD-302 of JOHN G. TOWER, On 9/8/86, Page 2.

Senator TOWER concluded by stating that he had no reason to question the moral character, friends and associates, reputation, loyalty and ethics of the appointee and stated that, without reservation, he considers the appointee to be highly qualified for the Presidential position which he is seeking. Therefore, he would recommend the appointee for a position of trust and confidence in a sensitive U.S. Government job.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1/5/89

Date of transcription

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[redacted] currently a consultant at the [redacted]
[redacted] telephone number [redacted] was interviewed to
provide information regarding the background investigation of
former senator JOHN GOODWIN TOWER. [redacted] provided the following
information.

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[redacted] advised that he was the [redacted]
during the time when TOWER was a negotiator for the Strategic
Nuclear Arms Reduction Talks (START), in Geneva, Switzerland
between 1985 and 1986. [redacted] advised that he was physically
stationed at [redacted]
advised that he had very little knowledge of JOHN TOWER, other
than his reputation as a former senator of the United States.
[redacted] advised that he did speak occasionally with TOWER by phone
regarding security issues relevant to their respective positions.

[redacted] advised that he was never aware of any written
communications regarding any allegations against JOHN TOWER.
[redacted] advised that the only rumor information that ever came to
his attention was that he had a "nest of secretaries", and that
those secretaries were "sex partners". [redacted] emphasized
however, that he never had any written or verbal first-hand
information regarding those allegations or any other allegations
against JOHN TOWER. [redacted] advised that at one time, TOWER asked
his advise on securing and shipping some prescription medication
which he needed for his wife. [redacted] advised that the request
was certainly very legitimate, and there was never any indication
by him of any wrongdoing regarding prescription and/or illegal
drugs.

[redacted] advised that he had no first-hand, hearsay or
rumor information regarding excessive use of alcohol, mental or
emotional instability regarding JOHN TOWER. [redacted] added that he
had no reason to believe that JOHN TOWER was mentally unstable,
nor did he ever have information to suggest that TOWER had any
unusual mental defects.

Investigation on 1/4/89 at Washington, D.C. File # WMFO 161A-19411
by SA [redacted] and Date dictated 1/5/89

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 1/4/89, Page _____

_____ advised that he had no first-hand, hearsay or rumor information regarding illegal campaign contributions or expenditures, conflicts of interest involving defense contracts, or any illegal banking matters.

_____ advised that his contact with JOHN TOWER was infrequent. However, he said that he had no reason to question TOWER'S character, associates, reputation or loyalty. _____ said that at no time during his association with TOWER, did he believe that TOWER used, sold, bought or distributed illegal narcotics. _____ emphasized that he was unaware of any alcohol abuse or mental instability, and he believed TOWER was living well within his financial means. _____ said that he had no reason to believe TOWER would harbor or display any bias or prejudice against any group of persons. _____ said that he had no reason not to recommend JOHN TOWER for any position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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1/5/89

Date of transcription

[redacted]
[redacted] telephone [redacted] was interviewed to provide information regarding the background investigation of former Senator JOHN GOODWIN TOWER. [redacted] provided the following information.

[redacted] advised that at the time JOHN TOWER was the negotiator for the Strategic Nuclear Arms Reduction Talks (START), in Geneva, Switzerland between 1985 and 1986, he

[redacted] was the [redacted] [redacted] advised that he was physically stationed in [redacted] during that time period, and that he [redacted] [redacted] advised that he first met JOHN TOWER in 1985, and that he knew TOWER as one of the negotiators for approximately one year. [redacted] advised that he had no personal knowledge of TOWER prior to 1985, and he said that he only knew that TOWER was a former United States Senator.

[redacted] advised that he had no first hand, hearsay, or rumor information regarding any allegations regarding sexual impropriety, excessive use of alcohol, mental instability, conflicts of interest regarding any former employments by TOWER, any illegal campaign contributions or expenditures, or any matters regarding banking matters. In addition, [redacted] advised that he knew of no reason why TOWER could not be trusted with secure information, and he never had any information come to his attention that TOWER would have suicidal or any other inconsistent mental instabilities.

[redacted] advised that he visited Geneva on several occasions as part of his normal duties as [redacted] [redacted] advised that he saw JOHN TOWER drink on occasion, but never to excess. [redacted] advised that he never was in receipt of any written or verbal communication making any allegations against JOHN TOWER.

[redacted] advised that he never had a reason to question TOWER's character, associates, reputation or loyalty. [redacted] said that he knew no illegal drug usage, purchase,

Investigation on 1/4/89 at Washington, D. C. File # WMFO 161A-19411

by SA [redacted] Date dictated 1/5/88

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED], On 1/4/89, Page 2

sale, or distribution, and he emphasized that he did not believe TOWER to abuse alcohol. [REDACTED] said that he believed JOHN TOWER to be mentally stable and financially solvent. [REDACTED] said that he believed TOWER was living well within his financial means, and he said that he never knew of an occasion where TOWER showed bias or prejudice against any group of persons for any reason. [REDACTED] said that he would recommend JOHN TOWER for any position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date of transcription 1/6/89

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[redacted]
[redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing agent. [redacted] was further advised that an allegation had been made which stated that JOHN TOWER [redacted] had added a provision to the 1985 Defense Authorization Act which directed the United States Army to make a decision to purchase a 120 millimeter mortar within a certain time period. The only company which was able to fulfill this request was an Israeli company. According to this allegation, when [redacted] was asked why this change had been made, he advised that JOHN TOWER had [redacted] [redacted] was asked to provide any information he might have concerning this incident and comment on this allegation.

[redacted] advised that he is familiar with the 1985 Defense Authorization Act and with the change in language of the act which would have forced the United States Army to make a decision concerning the purchase of a 120 millimeter mortar. [redacted] stated that [redacted] the above mentioned change to the Defense Authorization Act of 1985 which forced the United States Army to chose a 120 millimeter mortar within a designated period of time. [redacted] believes, based upon his knowledge of Capitol Hill, of Senator TOWER, and of operating procedures, that [redacted] and he does not believe former Senator TOWER had anything to do with deciding to change the language in this bill and to specify that particular period of time for the decision. He repeated that this is his personal belief and he has no first hand knowledge to specifically prove this point.

At the time of the above incident, [redacted] [redacted] Senator BARRY GOLDWATER, who was to take over as Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee upon Senator TOWER's leaving the United States Senate. Several days before the date specified for the United States Army decision on a mortar to be purchased, [redacted] Senator GOLDWATER that Senator NUNN was quite upset at the date having been specified and the change having been made in this Defense Authorization Act. It is [redacted] belief that one of the contractors who had previously been involved in a United States Army evaluation study of various mortar systems probably alerted

Investigation on 1/5/89 at Washington, D. C. File # WMFO 161A-19411

SA [redacted] /jlp Date dictated 1/5/89

Continuation of FD-302 of _____

On 1/5/89

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Senator NUNN to the date having been specified in the Defense Authorization Act. As a result, _____ Senator GOLDWATER and soon Senator GOLDWATER and Senator NUNN met and discussed the subject. As a result of this discussion, Senators NUNN and GOLDWATER wrote a letter to either the Secretary of the Army or to the Army Chief of Staff instructing him to ignore the deadline specified in the language which accompanied the statute and to continue with the ongoing long term study of heavy weapons for the United States Army.

_____ advised that the United States Army had conducted a long term study of the heavy weapons needed by the United States Army. The purpose of this study was to evaluate various systems. _____ recalled that the Army was specifically looking at three or four different mortar systems; he recalls one each having been manufactured by the British, the Spanish, and the Israelis. _____ recalled that, if the change in language had remained in a fact, only one company would have been able to present a complete weapons package and thus qualify for this U.S. purchase. _____ identified this company as the Israeli manufacturer of a mortar system. _____ stated that, while he is not an expert on this subject, he has kept himself knowledgeable concerning this matter and he believes that the United States Army is still studying this heavy weapons evaluation and has not yet made a decision. When asked to speculate why an individual would specify a definite date for the decision to have been made concerning the mortar, _____ stated that it is his belief that the only conclusion one can draw from demanding that a decision be made on that specific date was "to drive the decision toward the Israeli company". _____ explained that there was a very active competition at that particular time among the three or four separate companies which had competing mortar systems. Although the Israeli system was ready at that moment, it is _____ understanding that the other systems were only a month or two away from being complete and ready. As a result, he believes that delaying this decision for a month or two would have opened the field of eligible companies to all three or four competent companies. Following this line of reasoning, _____ can only conclude that setting an arbitrary date for the purchase decision could only have as its reason the limitation of competition and thus giving the contract to the Israeli firm.

_____ stated that it is his understanding and personal belief that _____ told Senator NUNN that JOHN TOWER had authorized _____ to make the change in language in the Defense Authorization Act 1985. _____ repeated his belief that he does not believe this statement is true. However, with Senator TOWER

Continuation of FD-302 of , On 1/5/88, Page 3

having left the United States Senate, Senator GOLDWATER taking over as Chairman of the Committee, the issue was not actively pursued after GOLDWATER and NUNN wrote to the United States Army telling them to ignore this particular language. To knowledge, no one else ever looked into this until recently.

INBOX.25 (#9865)

TEXT:

VZCZCKC0003

PP HQ

DE KC #0003 0070020

ZNR UUUUU

P 062345Z JAN 89

FM KANSAS CITY (161A-1772) (SQ. 4) (RUC)

TO DIRECTOR FBI (161-20403)/PRIORITY/

BT

UNCLAS

CITE: //3350//

SUBJECT: JOHN GOODWIN TOWER; SPIN(A); BUDED: PAST.

REBUTELCALL TO KANSAS CITY (WICHITA, KANSAS RA),
JAN. 5, 1989; KANSAS CITY (WRA) TELCALL AND FACSIMILE TO
BUREAU, JAN. 5, 1989; SEATTLE TELETYPE TO BUREAU, WMFO, AND
KANSAS CITY, JAN. 5, 1989; AND BUREAU TELETYPE TO KANSAS
CITY, JAN. 5, 1989.

FD-302 INTERVIEW OF [REDACTED] FACSIMILED BY
REFERENCE COMMUNICATION, JAN. 5, 1989. NO FURTHER
INVESTIGATION REMAINS KANSAS CITY DIVISION.

BT

#0003

CC DESTROYED

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 11 1989	
FBI - KANSAS CITY	

161-20403-39

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7 APR 26 1989

6/4pm

FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

☐ Teletype
☐ Facsimile
☒ AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

☐ Immediate
☐ Priority
☒ Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

☐ TOP SECRET
☐ SECRET
☐ CONFIDENTIAL
☐ UNCLAS E F T O
☒ UNCLAS

Date 1/9/89

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (161-20403A)
 ATTN: [REDACTED] SPIN UNIT,

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 b7C

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (161A-2425) (RUC)

JOHN GOODWIN TOWER
 SPIN (A)
 BUDED: PAST

Re Bureau teletype to Seattle dated 12/29/88; telcall between SA [REDACTED] and SA [REDACTED] Seattle Division, 12/29/88; and telcall between SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] SPIN Unit, 12/29/88.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the following:

1. Two copies of FD-302 reflecting interview of [REDACTED] (protect identity).

b6
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 b7D

2. Copy of [REDACTED]

3. Copy of a reply letter from [REDACTED]

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 b7C

[REDACTED] 6/10/81.

4. Copy of letter written by [REDACTED] which is undated and unsigned.

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Since the Seattle Division has no outstanding leads in this matter, it shall be considered RUC.

CO DESTROYED

2 - Bureau (161-20403A) (Enc. 5)

2 - WMFO (161A-19411)

2 - Seattle (161A-2425)

MAT:ch/vlp
 (6)

10 JAN 13 1989

Approved: 5

Transmitted

(Number)

(Time)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 1/3/891

[redacted] (protect identity). date of birth [redacted] telephone number [redacted] was contacted and, after being apprised of the identity of the interviewing agent and nature of the interview, provided the following information:

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[redacted] opposed the appointment of MR. MELVIN R. PAISLEY for the position of Undersecretary of the Navy. [redacted] reply letter from [redacted] which was dated June 10, 1981. The letter stated that MR. PAISLEY's name had not been received by the Committee on Armed Services for nomination to any positions of the Department of Defense. However, [redacted] knew that PAISLEY was being considered for the Undersecretary of the Navy position because [redacted] who at one time was [redacted] found out this information through [redacted] and [redacted] had, and continue to have, [redacted] In fact, at the time when [redacted] she knew that MELVIN PAISLEY had [redacted] and was awaiting approval for his appointment as the Undersecretary of the Navy.

[redacted] has not had any other contacts with Senator TOWER's office, however, she has been called by [redacted] [redacted] also knows that [redacted] never sent a letter to Senator TOWER, due to the fact that [redacted] has the original. [redacted] then provided the interviewing agent with [redacted] and the reply from [redacted] She also provided a copy of [redacted] regarding MELVIN PAISLEY, which purportedly was never sent to Senator TOWER.

Investigation on 12/30/88 at [redacted] File # SE 161A-2425

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by SA [redacted] /ch Date dictated 12/30/88

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